The script of Matthew Paris and his collaborators
A digital approach

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The script of Matthew Paris and his collaborators: a digital approach

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Abstract

Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259) compiled a number of influential historical and hagiographical works at St Albans abbey. The edition of most of his historical works in the Rolls Series between 1858 and 1890 served as a springboard for scholarship on Paris, with a particular emphasis on authorship and the sources for his historical texts. In 1953 and 1958, Richard Vaughan published an acclaimed article and a monograph, in which, apart from adding to the authorship debate, he provided the first systematic description of Paris's hand.

Vaughan's works have been at the core of all subsequent scholarship on Paris. However, there has not been any new scholarship dealing with Paris's manuscripts from a palaeographic perspective since 1958. Vaughan's description of Paris's hand was impressionistic in nature and left out aspects like abbreviation and punctuation, while he determined the number of collaborating scribes to be fifteen without providing a description of those hands. The application of quantitative methods to palaeography, and subsequently the development of the Digital Humanities allows for more questions to be asked: What are the palaeographic characteristics of each collaborating scribe? What is the extent of the contribution of each of them? Did the hand of Matthew Paris change through time? In what ways?

This project is based on the analysis of ten manuscripts on Vaughan's list, and employs palaeographic, digital and quantitative methods. The digital framework Archetype has been used – under the name MParisPal – to create scribal 'profiles' made up of individual annotations of characters made on digital images, which allows to create more detailed scribal descriptions and opens up the possibility of cross-comparison. Overall, this project provides three main outcomes: firstly, a new and more complete description of Paris's hand; secondly, a quantitative survey of the evolution of Paris's hand through time; and thirdly, a description of all collaborating scribal hands in the analysed manuscripts, and of the extent of their contribution. These outcomes will broaden existing knowledge of book production at St Albans abbey in the thirteenth century; more generally of monastic book production in the Late Middle Ages; and of the development of the Gothic scripts. It also provides an online repository of manuscript images and palaeographic annotations that can be enlarged, continued or adapted in future research projects.

Contents[1]

[1] The digital version of this dissertation includes in-text hyperlinks in the list of contents, the list of figures, and in cross-references to other sections.

Abbreviations

BdL Bodleian Library, Oxford

BL The British Library

CCCC Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

CCCO Corpus Christi College, Oxford

ChL Chetham's Library, Manchester

CM *Chronica Majora,* 7 vols., ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1872-83)

CUL Cambridge University Library

FH *Flores Historiarum*, 3 vols., ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1890)

GA *Gesta Abbatum*, 3 vols., ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series (London, 1867-69)

HA *Historia Anglorum*, 3 vols., ed. F. Madden, Rolls Series (London, 1866-69)

TCD Trinity College Dublin

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1. Introduction

a. Objectives

Matthew Paris OSB (c.1200-1259), monk at St Albans abbey, is one of the best-known writers in late medieval England. His chronicles, hagiographies, maps and drawings are testament to his prolificness, and are widely used to illustrate the thirteenth century in England and on the continent. Although the bulk of his production – the *Chronica Majora* – had been published in the sixteenth century, it was not until the nineteenth century that most of Paris's other works were edited, together with the *Chronica*, as part of the Rolls Series.[1] It was in the nineteenth century that Matthew Paris became first discussed as an author, and both the Rolls Series editors and other scholars reached conclusions about Paris's authorship and on his sources.[2] The manuscripts containing Paris's works, mostly divided between the British Library and the Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, were not analysed palaeographically, and only occasionally was handwriting considered at all.[3]

It was not until 1953 that the hand of Matthew Paris was described by Vaughan, who also published a monograph on Paris that would change the way his work and his manuscripts were conceived.[4] Vaughan's article and monograph offered an interpretation of how Paris's manuscripts were composed and when, a palaeographic description of Paris's hand and a handlist of manuscripts containing this hand. These works have been hugely influential in Paris's scholarship, and they settled the authorship debates that had taken place from the nineteenth century.[5] Ultimately, Vaughan was the first to analyse and interpret Paris's works as a whole, as opposed to previous scholarship based on the individual analysis or edition of a specific work or manuscript.

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[1] *Flores Historiarum per Matthaeum Westmonasteriensem collecti…ad annum Domini 1307*, ed. M. Parker (London, 1567); *Matthaei Paris, monachi Albaenesis, Angli, historia maior… cum indice locupletissimo*, ed. M. Parker (London, 1571); *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1858); *Gesta Abbatum*, 3 vols., ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series (London, 1867-69); *Historia Anglorum*, 3 vols., ed. F. Madden, Rolls Series (London, 1866-69); *Chronica Majora,* 7 vols., ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1872-83). *Vie de Seint Auban*, ed. R. Atkinson (1876); *Flores Historiarum*, 3 vols., ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1890).

[2] See chapter 1.c Historiographical approaches to Paris as author and scribe.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] R. Vaughan, 'The Handwriting of Matthew Paris', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 5 (1953), 376-94; *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958).

[5] See chapter 1.c Historiographical approaches to Paris as author and scribe.

Vaughan's ground-breaking works paved the way for other studies that focused on more specific aspects of Paris's texts and manuscripts.[6] However, none were palaeographical, and Vaughan's description of Paris's hand has remained the only such description.[7] This project responds to three circumstances in Paris's scholarship: the nature of Vaughan's description, the lack of more recent palaeographic scholarship on Matthew Paris and the development of Digital Humanities. Vaughan's 'The Handwriting of Matthew Paris', as detailed below, provides a description that includes codicological elements and a detailed account of previous scholarship dealing with the hand and with the authorship of Paris's best-known works. The description itself is based on characteristic letterforms and other elements such as *mise-en-page* and rubrics; and it acknowledges the existence of other scribes participating in the manuscripts.[8] Scribal collaboration in Matthew Paris's manuscript was not discovered by Vaughan, but it is addressed more directly by him than in previous scholarship.[9] Vaughan provided a rough estimate of scribal hands in the manuscripts, and distinguished some of them when listing the manuscripts containing Paris's hand.[10]

Between 2010 and 2014 a new digital framework applied to the study of medieval manuscripts was developed at King's College London.[11] DigiPal – now Archetype – quickly outgrew its initial premise and was used by a number of projects that include manuscripts, documents and inscriptions.[12] Archetype was created with the aim of facilitating the digital annotation and description of manuscript images, allowing for the description and distinction between scribal hands. Since its original incarnation, Archetype has adapted to further uses, including the annotation of illumination and the inclusion of translation and transcription.[13] This development in Digital Humanities and the increasing number of manuscripts that have been digitised and are available online offer the possibility of revisiting Paris's manuscripts, using the 2013 version of Archetype, in order to redefine his hand and to fully identify the hands of his scribal collaborators.

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[6] See chapter 1.c Historiographical approaches to Paris as author and scribe.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] See chapter 3.a The hand of Matthew Paris.
[9] See chapters 1.c. Historiographical approaches to Paris as author and scribe; and 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus.
[10] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting'.
[11] http://www.digipal.eu/, accessed 24 May 2018. The DigiPal project by the European Research Council as part of the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7) (https://cordis.europa.eu/project/rcn/96097_en.html, accessed 24 May 2018).
[12] https://archetype.ink, accessed 30 May 2018; see 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus.
[13] *Ibid.*

This dissertation responds to two main research questions: what can be learned about scribal idiosyncrasy and the ageing of the script through Paris's hand? And in what number and in what ways did scribes collaborate with Paris in the writing of the manuscripts containing his hand? The specific objectives of this project, derived from these two questions, are four: to redefine Paris's hand incorporating aspects and features that have not been described before, and to relate it to its palaeographic context; to quantitatively assess Paris's hand to produce a relative chronology of the manuscripts in the corpus; to identify and describe collaborating hands in the manuscripts; and to assess the overall contribution of collaborating scribes in the corpus.

Ten manuscripts have been analysed in this project.[14] They have been selected because of their relevance – as they include Paris's best known works -, their accessibility, particularly in relation to digitisations; and their inclusion in Vaughan's handlist of manuscripts containing Paris's hand.[15] Another criterion is the time and budget restraints of a PhD project, which both affect how many manuscripts could be analysed and how many digitisations could be purchased.[16] In order to identify and describe hands in the corpus, the Archetype framework has been used, in a version named MParisPal. The assessment of the hand of Matthew Paris and of the collaborators has been carried out by digitally annotating on MParisPal, using a specific terminology and a specific number of characters being described; and by the direct observation of aspect.[17] The digital annotations are also the basis for a quantitative approach that provides additional information and the possibility of studying patterns of stability and change in Paris's hand. The methodologies used in this project are three: palaeographic method, Digital Humanities, and quantitative methods.[18] This combination allows for a preliminary, observation-based identification; the digital annotation, its palaeographical appreciation and assessment, and the quantification of morphological elements.

[14] BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, BL Cotton MS Nero D I, BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133, BL Royal MS 14 C VII, CCCC MS 16 II, CCCC MS 26, CCCO MS 2, CUL Dd 11 78, ChL MS 6712 and TCD MS 177.
[15] Vaughan, 'The handwriting', 390-2.
[16] See chapter 5. Conclusions.
[17] See chapter 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus.
[18] For a full description of this project's methodology, see chapter 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus.

Overall, the aims mentioned above mark a departure from Paris's scholarship today, which has mostly been concerned with textual, artistic and historical aspects.[19] The wealth of palaeographical data provided by the analysis of the manuscripts in the corpus constitutes a relevant contribution to the study of the Gothic scripts in England, whereas the project itself opens up the possibility of continuing the analysis of the remaining Paris's manuscripts and of comparing the results of the analysis of scribal hands with other manuscripts produced at St Albans during Paris's lifetime.[20]

This dissertation is divided into five sections, accompanied by an appendix. The introduction (*Chapter 1*) contextualises Matthew Paris and defines the methods employed in this project, with a special emphasis on Paris's manuscripts and scholarship. *Chapter 2* reflects on the relationship in this project between Digital Humanities, Archetype, palaeographic method and quantitative techniques. *Chapter 3* is dedicated to the hand of Matthew Paris, providing a new description of the hand aided by digital annotation on MParisPal; a quantitative survey of the hand across the manuscripts in the corpus; and a proposed chronology of the manuscripts based on these annotations. *Chapter 4* analyses the scribal hands present in the manuscripts in the corpus, providing a description of individual hands in each manuscript and of scribes identified across several manuscripts. Lastly, there is a chart at the end – *Appendix* - that shows at a glance the participation of each hand in every manuscript, together with some additional information such as the average angle of writing in relation to the baseline and the average angle of the ascender of uncial **d** in relation to the baseline. The hyperlinks throughout direct the reader to either MParisPal, showing specific groups of letterforms, abbreviations or punctuation that support the text; or to other sections, chapters or charts in the text. Open access to MParisPal is also provided, allowing the reader to explore the digitisations, the digital annotations and the description of letterforms, abbreviations and punctuation.

b. Life, works and manuscripts of Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259)

Despite the large number of manuscripts containing Paris's hand, and his extensive chronicles and abridgements, little is known about his life. There are few passing biographical comments in his works that give some hints as to which events he attended in person, or when he entered St Albans abbey, as will be discussed below. These were the

[19] See chapter 1.c. Historiographical approaches to Paris as author and scribe.
[20] See chapter 5. Conclusions.

starting point of Vaughan's reconstruction of Paris's life, which has been enlarged by contributions by Rebecca Reader, Simon Lloyd and Björn Weiler, and more recently by Nathan Greasley.[21] Paris's place in the lineage of historians at St Albans abbey from the late twelfth century is best summarised by Galbraith:[22]

> The history of the thirteenth century, as we know it, is inconceivable without the works of Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris, and if their immediate successors were smaller men, it is again a St Albans monk, Thomas Walsingham, who is the historian of the Lancastrian revolution (1377-1422).

Roger Wendover (d.1236) was Paris's predecessor in historical writing at St Albans. He was the prior of Belvoir (Leicestershire), a cell of St Albans, for some time, until he was deposed in 1219 after a visitation.[23] Between his deposition and his death he wrote the *Flores Historiarum*, which later formed the starting point of Matthew Paris's compilations, as detailed below. Apart from his relationship with Wendover as a writer, the only certain biographical detail for Matthew Paris's early life is that he took the habit in 1217.[24] According to Vaughan and Madden, the usual age for entering the house was fifteen or over, which gives an approximate date of c.1200 for Paris's birth.[25] Another element which has been addressed in the scholarship is Paris's surname and its possible connection with the city of Paris.[26] The hypothesis that Matthew Paris could have studied or been related to the University of Paris was first put forward by Madden in the preface to his edition of Paris's *Historia Anglorum* in 1869.

> [...] The probability of his having been some time at Paris is considerably strengthened by the fact that of his knowledge of French, evinced not only by his having occasionally written in that language, but also by the frequent introduction and explanation of many French words in his writings. His familiarity also with the localities of Paris, and the interest he takes in its university are remarkable, yet his

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[21] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 1-20; S. Lloyd and R. Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268, accessed 25 April 2018; Björn Weiler, 'Matthew Paris and Europe', in James Clark (ed.), *Cambridge Companion to Matthew Paris* (forthcoming); *ibid.*, 'Matthew Paris in Norway', *Revue Bénédictine*, 122 (2012), 153-181; Nathan Greasley, 'Did Matthew Paris Go to Paris? An Old Mystery and New Gathering in the Thirteenth Century', unpublished paper presented at the History Research Seminar at Aberystwyth University (Aberystwyth, 5th April, 2017); *ibid.*, 'Matthew Paris's Networks of Information' (Aberystwyth University Ph.D thesis, forthcoming).

[22] V. H. Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris: being the Eleventh Lecture on the David Murray Foundation in the University of Glasgow Delivered on Marth 9th, 1944* (Glasgow, 1944), 5.

[23] D. Corner, 'Wendover, Roger of (d.1236), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29040, accessed 25 April 2018.

[24] *HA*, III, x, 9; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 1.

[25] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 2; *HA*, III, x.

[26] Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268; Weiler, 'Matthew Paris in Norway', 154; Greasley, 'Did Matthew Paris Go to Paris?'.

> silence on the subject, supposing him to have been a student or resident there, is equally so.[27]

It is generally assumed, however, that his surname, *Parisiensis* – also found as *Parisius* – was common enough in thirteenth-century England, particularly (according to Madden) in Lincolnshire [28]. Paris could, however, have been educated in Paris, although there is no clear evidence to support this.[29] The first part of his life at the abbey (1217-1247) is relatively obscure, except for mentions of his presence in several formal events, including the translation of St Thomas Becket in Cambridge (1220), the marriage of Henry III and Eleanor at Westminster (1236) and the feast of St Edward the Confessor at Westminster in 1247.[30] Given that he was asked by Henry III at the feast of St Edward the Confessor to write down the events of that day in his chronicle, it is assumed he had begun work in his main work, the *Chronica Majora*, by c.1240 or later.[31] Henry III visited St Albans on several occasions, and on some of those visits (in 1250, 1251 and 1257) Paris had the chance to meet him.[32] Paris's meetings with the King granted him information and access to documents, including the Red Book of the Exchequer.[33] Additionally, Paris also met a number of important guests of the abbey, who provided him with more information. This privileged access to personal accounts and documents allowed Paris to construct the *Chronica Majora* and its abridgements almost without leaving the abbey, incorporating records of events that took place in Western and Eastern Europe, the Iberian Peninsula and the Middle East.[34] The only time in which Matthew Paris left England was between 1248 and 1249, when he travelled to Norway.[35]

In 1246, the abbot of the abbey of St Benet Holm in the Norwegian island of Nidarholm disappeared with the abbey's seal, leaving the community in serious financial trouble, as a result of debts to the London Cahorsins.[36] King Hakon IV of Norway (1217-1263) sent a letter with the prior of St Benet to England, addressed to Matthew Paris, in which the king

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[27] *HA*, III, ix.
[28] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 1; *HA,* III, viii.
[29] Lloyd, Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268.
[30] A fuller account of the events attended by M. Paris can be found in Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 2-4; *HA*, II, 241-2; *CM,* III, 334-9; IV, 640-45.
[31] *CM*, IV, 644-5; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 60.
[32] *CM,* V, 129-30, 617-8, 233-4.
[33] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 17.
[34] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 125.
[35] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 4-7; Weiler, 'Matthew Paris in Norway', 156.
[36] Weiler, 'Matthew Paris in Norway', 162; Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268.

requested his help in order to negotiate with the London moneylenders.[37] Once the dispute was settled – the extent of Paris's intervention is unclear – further conflicts took place in Norway due to disputes between St Benet Holm abbey and the archbishop of Trondheim, who took possession of the monastery.[38] The papal legate William, bishop of Sabina, was at the time in Norway and was approached by the brethren, and advised them to appeal to the pope so they could have someone to reform their monastery and regain a position from which to negotiate with the archbishop.[39] They did so, and the prior had a meeting with Pope Innocent IV, in which he chose Matthew Paris as the reformer.[40] Paris left for Norway in 1248.[41] The story of his journey is told by Paris himself in a fragmentary fashion on several occasions: when describing King Hakon's coronation in 1247; when narrating the conflict at Nidarholm and a great fire at Bergen; and when detailing plans to substitute Frederick II as Emperor in 1251.[42] It is Paris's account of a fire at the port of Bergen, followed by a great storm – which is also described in a Norwegian chronicle – that makes Vaughan rely on the veracity of the episode.[43] The thunderstorm caught Paris celebrating mass, during which lightning struck and destroyed the mast of his ship. Even though Paris narrates the circumstances in which he made the trip, he does not give any further information about what he did to reform St Benet Holm, nor does he mention his return to England.[44] However, it is understood that he delivered letters to King Hakon from Louis IX of France, exhorting the Norwegian king to join him in the organisation of a crusade.[45]

It is generally agreed that Paris returned to St Albans in 1249, and that he remained there for the rest of his life.[46] The way the story of Paris's trip appears in the *Chronica Majora*,

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[37] Weiler, 'Matthew Paris in Norway', 162; Vaughan, *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Observations of Thirteenth-Century Life* (Cambridge, 1993), 59-60; *HA*, III, xvi-xvii.
[38] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 4; Weiler, 'Matthew Paris in Norway', 164.
[39] *CM*, V, xvii, 42-5.
[40] Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268; *HA*, III, xviii.
[41] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris,* 6.
[42] Weiler, 'Matthew Paris in Norway', 157.
[43] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 6; *CM*, V, 35-6; *The Saga of Hacon: and a Fragment of the Saga of Magnus, with Appendices,* ed. G. W. Dasent*,* Rolls Series (London, 1894), IV, 266-7.
[44] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 6.
[45] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris,* 7; F. A. Powicke, 'The Compilation of the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXX (1944), 147-160; 'Notes on the Compilation of the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris', *Modern Philology*, 38 (1941), 312-17.
[46] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 7; *HA*, III, xx; Weiler, 'Matthew Paris in Norway', 156; Powicke, 'The Compilation of the *Chronica Majora',* 158.

Historia Anglorum and *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* is also relevant.[47] Paris placed himself as a neutral narrator, using the third person; however, with every retelling the story grew larger and more detailed, as did Paris's role in the reformation of the monastery of St Benet Holm.[48] The letter, written by William of Sabina, by which Paris is designated as the reformer is copied several times; and in the last of these – in the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* – the text commands him to reform all Benedictine houses in Norway.[49]

> Eodemque anno frater Matheus, hujus opusculi compositor, ex praecepto domini papae missus est in Norwegiam, ad reformandum Ordinem sancti Benedicti in coenobiis monachorum Nigri Ordinis [...][50]

There are no surviving sources to prove the story yet, as mentioned above, his description of the fire of Bergen and the wealth of details given in his retellings of the trip can be considered truthful, yet embellished.[51] The period between Paris's return from Norway in 1249 and his death in 1259 is obscure in biographical details, yet it is the period in which Paris continues and abridges his historical texts at a remarkably fast pace.[52] The scant references to his own life are related to events Paris may have attended, such as the dedication of the church of Hayles (Gloucestershire) and the marriage of Margaret, daughter of Henry III, to Alexander II of Scotland at York in 1251.[53] He also met Henry III at St Albans in 1257.[54]

The year of Paris's death was generally uncontested until Powicke put forward the theory that Paris may have died some time after 1259, which was in turn contested by Vaughan's monograph in 1958.[55] The main piece of evidence that supports 1259 as the year of Paris's death is the colophon at the end of the *Chronica Majora* after entries for 1259*,* which starts: *sciendum est quod hucusque perscripsit venerabilis vir frater Mattheus Parisiensis*….[56] Below this colophon is a drawing that shows Matthew Paris in his deathbed, with the caption *Hic obit*

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[47] Full and partial accounts of Paris's journey can be found in *CM*, IV, 650-2; V, 35-6; V, 45; V, 201; and *HA*, III, 40-1; III, 304.
[48] Weiler, 'Matthew Paris in Norway', 159.
[49] Weiler, 'Matthew Paris in Norway', 158.
[50] *HA*, III, 40.
[51] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 5; Weiler, 'Matthew Paris in Norway', 159.
[52] See chapter 3.c Matthew Paris's manuscripts: a chronology.
[53] *CM*, V, 262; 266-7.
[54] *CM*, V, 617-8.
[55] Powicke, 'The Compilation of the *Chronica Majora'*, 157-8; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 7-11; Galbraith, *'Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris'*, 12; *HA*, III, xxi; *CM*, I, ix.
[56] 'Thus far wrote the venerable man, brother Matthew Paris […]' (translation by Galbraith, *'Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris'*, 12).

Matheus Parisiensis.[57] Powicke cast doubt on this evidence, allowing for the possibility of a time gap between the events occurring and the entries on those events being written, thus indicating that the entries for 1259 may have been written at a later date, and only then the colophon and illumination were added.[58]

> The transcript may have been written several years after 1259, and it does not follow that because a chronicler brings his work to an end in a certain year he died in that year. Moreover, in the course of original composition, a time-lag of a year or more was almost inevitable.[59]

Vaughan's argument was that there was not such a large 'time-lag' between annotations or draft and fair copy.[60] Madden had previously noted how the post-Paris continuation of the *Flores Historiarum* started on June 1259, whilst the last entry in the *Chronica Majora*, just before the above-mentioned colophon, is from May 1259.[61] Vaughan added another piece of evidence based on the observation of what he believed to be last text written in Paris's hand, a document in the *Liber Additamentorum* dated March 1259.[62] After Vaughan's *Matthew Paris* there has been a general consensus on 1259 as the year of Paris's death.

The context in which Matthew Paris produced his works is related, on the one hand, to the Benedictine tradition and, on the other, to the writing of history at St Albans. Chronicles, histories, annals, hagiographies and biographies were an integral part of the Benedictines' intellectual output, as part of their dedication to knowledge and education.[63] In their role as historians, they excelled in the interpretation of early documents, which was one of Matthew Paris's abilities.[64] Benedictine History writing, according to Lewis, can be understood as an evolution of hagiography in its narrative sense, together with a particular sensitivity towards previous texts and documents, under the principles of the Rule.[65] Southern argued that the way Benedictines approached studying and researching – as an exacting process of digestion and compilation of previous text – made history writing the Benedictines' 'most original contribution to literature'.[66] The Benedictines were better

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[57] BL Royal MS 14 C VII, 218v.
[58] Powicke, 'The Compilation of the *Chronica Majora*', 157-8.
[59] Powicke, 'The Compilation of the *Chronica Majora*', 157.
[60] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 7.
[61] *HA*, I, xxiii.
[62] See chapter 3.c Matthew Paris's manuscripts: a chronology; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 10.
[63] Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (Fredericksburg, 1953), 185.
[64] Clark, *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2011), 224.
[65] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley, 1987), 7.
[66] Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 192.

prepared for the writing of History also because of their background in coenobitic life. As Clark has observed,

> The Benedictines' conception of history was formed by their experience of coenobitic life. To be professed a monk was to join a community of past as well as present, and it was incumbent on any novice to seek to understand, and to share in, this inheritance, this social memory.[67]

Apart from their shared experience of a coenobitic past and present, the Benedictine efforts in history-writing are also related to the order's lack of chronological information of their own history. This, together with their appreciation of patristic texts, crystallised in a moral conception of History that is most evident in Matthew Paris's chronicles.[68] Historical texts like the Annals of Fulda and Einhard of Muhlsheim's *Vita Caroli magni* are early examples of this tradition, which was upheld in Britain – in a hagiographical fashion – by authors like Wulfstan of Winchester.[69] In simple terms, there is in England a great development of Benedictine Latin History writing in the eleventh and the long twelfth centuries until the appearance of, and coexistence with, Middle English and Anglo-Norman texts.[70] It is during the eleventh and twelfth centuries that we see a stronger tradition of annalist writings and grander histories like those of William of Malmesbury, William of Jumèges and Orderic Vitalis, and works by Eadmer of Canterbury and Symeon of Durham.[71]

This trend in history writing in England and Normandy sought to reconcile the pre-Norman past with the reformed present, whilst asserting the authority and influence of monastic houses. Texts like Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius hoc est* and Walden Abbey's *Liber de fundacione*, among others, show this preoccupation with documentary evidence and self-examination.[72] In the thirteenth century, only particularly prominent monastic houses produced texts about their own history together with more general histories. Compared to the previous century, this surge of chronicle-writing can be described as a revival, but with a difference: Weiler has noted that the new texts are more

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[67] Clark, *The Benedictines*, 225.
[68] Clark, *The Benedictines*, 225.
[69] Clark, *The Benedictines*, 226.
[70] Fisher, *Scribal Authorship and the Writing of History in Medieval England* (Ohio, 2012), 59; Jenkins, *The Monastic Chronicler and the Early School of St Albans: a Lecture* (London, 1922), 6-7.
[71] Clark, *The Benedictines*, 227; G. Martin and R. M. Thomson, 'History and History Books', in N. J. Morgan and R. M. Thomson (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge, 2008), 397-415, 400-1.
[72] Clark, *The Benedictines*, 228.

ambitious in geographical and thematic scope.[73] Large houses even appointed a 'historian' who was entrusted with the keeping of a chronicle. Although the names of these historians are mostly unknown, we have some mentions of the role, supposedly created at St Albans in 1166 and previously at Winchester.[74] The thirteenth century, in terms of monastic historical production, fused the monastic chronicle with universal history, making any distinctions necessarily blurry.[75] Additionally, there is also a change in the consumption of historical works. The traditional audiences and patrons of historical texts – monasteries, royalty, aristocracy – are joined by administrators and merchants, who are also committed to providing historians with personal accounts and documents.[76]

As one of the most important abbeys in England, St Albans was also a celebrated centre for the production of knowledge and books, although the process by which it became so is often difficult to trace.[77] The Norman Conquest marks, as with many other monastic houses, the beginning of a restoration process, led by the fourteenth abbot Paul of Caen (1077-1093).[78] The Anglo-Saxon abbots were seen by Matthew Paris as disreputable, and a strict following of the Rule had to be enforced after the Norman Conquest.[79] However, Paul of Caen's most important legacy was the construction of the scriptorium, above the chapter house, and the borrowing of a number of chiefly liturgical books to be copied there.[80] The library started to receive and produce volumes, and the *scriptores* steadily grow in number after the abbacy of Paul of Caen.[81]

In the period from Paul of Caen's abbacy until the time of Roger of Wendover (d.1236), there is little evidence of a continuation of a history-writing tradition. The most complete source that can be used to know more about book production at the abbey is Matthew Paris's *Gesta Abbatum*, in which there are some references to the evolution of the

[73] B. Weiler, 'Historical Writing and the Experience of Europeanization: The View from St Albans', in J. Hudson and S. Crumplin (eds.), *The Making of Europe: Essays in Honour of Robert Bartlett*, (Leiden, 2016), 205-43, 226-7.
[74] Lewis, *The Art*, 7.
[75] Lewis, *The Art*, 11.
[76] References to patrons are scarce, but in the case of St Albans, the list of benefactors of the abbey increasingly include high and middle-ranking officials; these benefactors are also amongst Matthew Paris's informants, together with more traditional providers of information such as aristocrats and Church authorities (Weiler, 'Historical Writing', 240-1; B. Guenée, *Histoire et Culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1980), 65-73).
[77] Martin and Thomson, 'History and History Books', 404.
[78] Jenkins, *The Monastic Chronicler*, 23-4; *HA*, I, x.
[79] *HA*, I, viii; *GA*, I, 57-8.
[80] M. Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes. The Lyell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford* (Aldershot, 1999), 24; Jenkins, *The Monastic Chronicler*, 25; *HA*, I, xi.
[81] Jenkins, *The Monastic Chronicler*, 25.

scriptorium, from its foundation – as mentioned above – to its disrepair and abandonment under abbot Geoffrey (1119-1146), to its restoration under abbot Simon (1167-1183).[82] Up until the turn of the thirteenth century, however, there are several anonymous annalists working at St Albans, but no named historians.[83] Also, and unlike other monastic houses, English monasteries lacked an institutional effort behind their chronicles. Monastic historians tended to work under their own initiative, even though their works came to represent their house and could be used widely.[84]

As described above, the predecessor of Matthew Paris in the writing of historical texts at St Albans is Roger of Wendover. Wendover's only known piece of work, *Flores Historiarum,* is a universal chronicle that begins with a compilation of the Bible and authorities like Bede, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger of Howden and Ralph de Diceto.[85] In this regard, Wendover can be considered the first representative of a late-medieval new wave of monastic universal history, as described above; and of what Fisher considers the intertextual process of writing history:[86]

> To write history is to translate linguistically, textually, and temporally. Yet, because it narrates an inaccessible past, history writing must also negotiate the complex boundaries between compilation and composition, between quotation and derivation, and between description and invention.

However, from the year 1202 until the end of his life Wendover produced his own original work.[87] One of the several controversies regarding Wendover and his compilation is related to the main source of Wendover's text, if there was one at all. Hardy, in his *Descriptive catalogue*, voiced the theory that Wendover based his text on an earlier compilation written c.1150 and shared by a compiler at Bury St Edmunds, a claim that was both contested and supported throughout the first half of the twentieth century.[88] The main implication of this debate is that if we assume there was a pre-existing historical text, then Wendover might

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[82] Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes*, 24; *HA*, I, xi; *GA*, I, 76 and 192.
[83] The abbey continued to produce copies of relevant texts in this period (*HA*, I, xii).
[84] Clark, *The Benedictines*, 228.
[85] Corner, "Wendover, Roger of (d.1236)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29040.
[86] Fisher, *Scribal Authorship*, 60.
[87] Corner, "Wendover, Roger of (d.1236)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29040.
[88] Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Related to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the End of the Reign of Henry VII*, 3 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1862-71), III, XXXVI; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 22; Corner, 'Wendover, Roger of', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29040; A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols. (London, 1974), 359.

not have been the sole predecessor of Matthew Paris.[89] Apart from the early sections of his historical compilations – as discussed below-, Wendover's influence on Matthew Paris can also be seen in his political views, particularly in regards to King John and Henry III.[90]

Matthew Paris was a prolific author and an accomplished illuminator whose works range from chronicles to hagiographies, itineraries to the Holy Land and other compilations that show his interest in a number of subjects including poetry and astrology. Paris is best known for his historical compilations, which are particularly useful for the study of the thirteenth century in England and beyond. For instance, his main piece of work, the *Chronica Majora*, incorporates events as geographically distant as the coronation of King Hakon IV of Norway in 1217 and a brief introduction to Armenian history, together with a detailed account of the reign of Henry III.[91] Matthew Paris's works can be divided into three groups: chronicles and abridgements, works related to St Albans, and hagiographies.

Paris's best-known works are historical compilations, which are abridgements of his main *opus*, the *Chronica Majora*. These are *Flores Historiarum*, *Historia Anglorum, Abbreviatio Chronicorum, Cronica sub compendio abreuiata a fratre M. Parisiensi*, and *Chronica excerpta a magnis cronicis S. Albani a conquestu Anglie usque deinceps*. Additionally, the *Liber Additamentorum* serves as a repository of documents and additional materials for the *Chronica Majora*. Roger of Wendover's main piece of work is the *Flores Historiarum*, which is a different work from Paris's own *Flores Historiarum*.[92] Paris's *Flores* is indebted to both Wendover's *Flores* and the *Chronica Majora*. Vaughan proposed the possibility that Paris's *Flores* and Wendover's *Flores* could have been based on a common text, and that Paris composed his compilation based on the common text, the *Chronica Majora* and on Wendover's *Flores*, as illustrated below (Figure 1.1).[93] Thus, Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* – now only extant in two late copies (from c. 1300 and c. 1350) – serves as the base for the *Chronica Majora* up to the annal of 1253.[94] Independently of a common source, which has not survived, Paris used his predecessor's work extensively, incorporating it in his own work and making it his own.

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[89] Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* have been partially edited: *Rogeri de Wendover Chronica sive Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. O. Coxe, 5 vols. (London, 1844); and *The Flores of History by Roger de Wendover from the year of Our Lord 1154*, ed. H. G. Hewlett, 3 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1889).
[90] Corner, "Wendover, Roger of (d.1236)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29040.
[91] For an account of Paris's concept of History: Weiler, 'Matthew Paris and Europe'; B. Weiler, 'Mathew Paris on the Writing of History'. *Journal of Medieval History*, 35:3 (2009), 255.
[92] BdL Douce MS 207 and ChL MS 6712, respectively.
[93] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 24.
[94] BdL MS Douce 207, and BL Cotton MS Otho B v. There are also extracts from the British Library manuscript at CCCC MS 264 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 21).

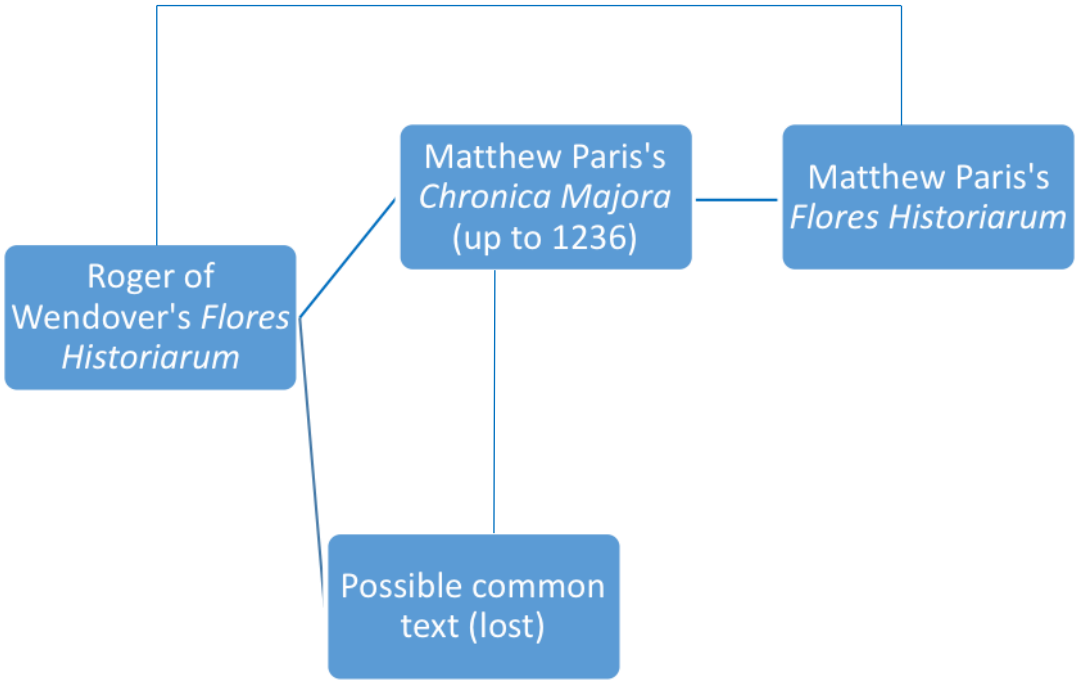

Figure 1.1. The relationships between Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* and Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* and *Flores Historiarum*, according to R. Vaughan.[95]

Matthew Paris's *Flores Historiarum* was originally attributed to Matthew of Westminster, on the grounds that the manuscript (ChL MS 6712) was at Westminster after 1265; and that there is the possibility that the text and manuscript were written for Westminster.[96] However, Galbraith, Madden and Vaughan disputed the existence of Matthew of Westminster, and argued that the name was given in error because of the connexion of the manuscript with Westminster.[97] The text of Paris's *Flores Historiarum* in ChL MS 6712 is divided in two sections, the first ending in 1066 and the second in 1265 (Paris being responsible for the work up to 1249).[98] Although it is mainly an abridgment of the *Chronica Majora*, it includes information from other sources, namely the monastic annals of Reading and Southwark.[99] The text from 1265 onwards was composed at Westminster and, according to Vaughan, part of the text in the part Paris is responsible for (1066-1249) is drawn directly from Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* instead of the *Chronica*

[95] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 29.
[96] D. A. Carpenter, 'The Pershore *Flores Historiarum*: An Unrecognised Chronicle from the Period of Reform and Rebellion in England, 1258-65', *English Historical Review*, CXXVII: 529 (2012), 1345. The idea of the existence of Matthew of Westminster was consolidated by Parker's editions of the *Flores Historiarum* in the sixteenth century (*HA*, I, xix-xx).
[97] *HA*, I, xxii-xxiii; Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris*, 32-33; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 39-40.
[98] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 92.
[99] Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268.

Majora.[100] This gives weight to the possibility that the manuscript was made for Westminster. As described above, Paris's *Flores* is not simply an abridgement of the *Chronica*, but a new version that includes text from the original source of the *Chronica* for the earlier section and from Wendover's *Flores*, making it a different, distinctive work.

The *Chronica Majora* was Paris's most ambitious project, contained in two and a half volumes. These are CCCC MS 26 (from the beginning of the world until the annals of 1188) and 16 II (1189 - 1253); and BL Royal MS 14 C VII (1254-1259). The Corpus Christi College manuscripts are respectively referred to – since Luard's edition of the *Chronica* - as *A* and *B*, and BL Royal MS 14 C VII as *R.* [101] In terms of content, the *Chronica Majora* is drawn from Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* until 1234-5, although the exact moment in which Wendover's content ends and Paris's own account starts is a matter of debate, as mentioned above. The *Liber Additamentorum* (BL Cotton MS Nero D I, described below and containing supporting materials) was originally part of CCCC MS 16 II. Paris's original intention was to finish his chronicle in 1250, as Paris himself declares, and there is even a colophon in CCCC MS 16 II, which says:[102]

Terminantur hic Mathaei
Cronica; nam jubilaei
Anni dispensatio
Tempus spondet requiei.
Detur ergo quies ei,
Hic, et caeli solio.
[...]
Siste tui metas studii, Mathaee, quietas,
Nec ventura petas quae postera proferet aetas.[103]

However, he then decided to continue it, thus physically separating the *Liber Additamentorum* from CCCC MS 16 II, and continuing the *Chronica* in BL Royal MS 14 C VII until 1259, where the above-mentioned drawing of Paris in his deathbed signals the end of his part of the *Chronica*.[104] BL Royal MS 14 C VII includes a fourteenth-century

[100] R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 92-95.
[101] This terminology is used throughout Vaughan's *'Matthew Paris'* and through almost all scholarly works published after Luard's edition of the *Chronica Majora* (*CM*, I, xi).
[102] 'Matthew's chronicle here ends/and the jubilee year sends/repose down from the skies. /May repose to him be given/here on Earth and up in Heaven when he there shall rise. [...] Matthew, here your toils are o'er/stop your pen and toil no more. / Seek not what the future brings/another age has other things' (Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History, from the year 1235 to 1273*, 3 vols. (London, 1854), II, 411; revised in Vaughan, *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris*, 203).
[103] *CM*, V, 197-8. On the original composition of CCCC MS 16 II, Vaughan, *Matthew Paris,* 83-4
[104] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 57-60.

continuation (219r-231r), and there are two copies of the *Chronica Majora* up to 1188 made after Paris's death: BL Cotton MS Nero D V – named *C* by Luard - and BL Harley MS 1620.[105] Although the *Chronica* was continued during the fourteenth century, it did not gain a wide circulation, other works by Paris being more widely copied and read.[106] The *Chronica Majora* was first translated, although not fully, by Giles (1852), using *A, B* and *R*; it was then edited in seven volumes by H. R. Luard for the Rolls Series (1872-1883).[107]

One of the most characteristic aspects of Matthew Paris as a writer of history, which can be seen most clearly in the *Chronica Majora*, is his apparent lack of discrimination in his choosing of historical, mundane, natural or supernatural events. As Vaughan puts it, 'it seems that Matthew considered no information irrelevant'.[108] This apparent lack of discrimination Paris displays when choosing historical events and sources is not uncommon among medieval historians.[109] Additionally, Vaughan points out a number of mistakes, blunders and inaccuracies throughout Paris's historical manuscripts to characterise him as relatively unreliable, particularly in relation to his copying of documents.[110] This unreliability is partly related to Paris's aim, and a common characteristic of medieval historians, of prioritising the moral enlightenment of the audience over historical accuracy.[111] As Vaughan ascertains, Paris provided readers primarily with moral teachings and models.[112] He does so whether by contrasting Henry III's actions with others' – generally to highlight just how wrong, ill-advised and naïvely trusting of non-English barons the king was -, or by comparing stories from abroad or about different saints just to stress how righteous the English are and how St Alban was above all other saints.[113] This led even to the modification of some of the documents he copied in the *Chronica Majora* and in the *Liber Additamentorum*, creating new documents that supported his didactic narrative.[114]

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105 *CM*, I, xii.
106 The continuation of the *Chronica Majora* is now in BL Royal MS 14 C VII, 219r-231r; Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268.
107 *Chronica Majora,* 7 vols., ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1872-83). It was partially translated by Giles in Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History.*
108 Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 126.
109 Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 134.
110 Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 130-132.
111 Weiler, 'Matthew Paris on the Writing of History', 257.
112 Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 134.
113 Weiler, 'Matthew Paris and Europe'.
114 Weiler, 'Matthew Paris and Europe'.

After the *Flores Historiarum*, the largest abridgement of the *Chronica Majora* is the *Historia Anglorum*. It is now bound together with the third part of the *Chronica Majora* (in *R*, BL Royal MS 14 C VII, 9v-156v). Given the large amount of information included in the *Chronica*, Paris set out to produce a shorter abridgement centred on English affairs.[115] In order to achieve that, Paris included information from the *Flores Historiarum* not present in the *Chronica*, discarded all content unrelated to England, and also toned down his opinions on the king and pope.[116] It is, as a whole, a briefer account of English history, in which fewer documents were copied in full, also using new information that was originally confined to the margins of the *Chronica*.[117] It includes two leaves with portraits of English kings, from William the Conqueror (1066-1087) to Henry III (8v-9r).[118] The only edition of the *Historia Anglorum* was published by Madden, in three volumes for the Rolls Series in 1886-9.[119]

Another of Paris's abridgements of the *Chronica Majora* is the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*, which is now BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI. According to Vaughan, the *Abbreviatio*, which was left unfinished, was probably written in 1255, and it covers the years 1000-1255.[120] It uses additional information from Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*.[121] Similarly to the *Historia Anglorum*, the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* starts with a gallery of portraits of English kings although in this manuscript the portraits go back to Brutus, finishing, as in the Royal manuscript, with Henry III (5r-9v). [122] Other smaller abridgements are the *Chronica excerpta a magnis cronicis S. Albani a conquestu Anglie usque deinceps*, and *Cronica sub compendio abreuiata a fratre M. Parisiensi.*

The *Chronica excerpta* runs from 1066 to 1246, and it is found in BL Cotton MS Vitellius A XX, 77r-108v.[123] It is approximately datable between 1246-59, and incorporates material from the annals of Southwark and Reading abbeys and other works and, according to Vaughan, the manuscript was given to Tynemouth priory in c.1252-65.[124] Interestingly,

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115 Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 112.
116 Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268.
117 Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 112.
118 This set of portraits may have been, according to Lewis, a draft for a prologue for the *Chronica Majora* that never fully materialised (Lewis, *The Art*, 145).
119 *Historia Anglorum*, 3 vols., ed. F. Madden, Rolls Series (London, 1866-9).
120 Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 114.
121 Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 114.
122 Lewis, *The Art*, 143-47.
123 Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 41.
124 Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris,* 41.

some of the documents copied into the *Chronica excerpta* are more faithful to the originals than the copies found in Paris's other texts, as with Henry III's forest charter of 1225.[125] This opens the possibility of Paris having repeated access to the documents or using a different copy from the one in the *Chronica Majora.*[126] However, there is also the possibility that Paris produced two different versions of the document, each suited for his purposes, and the one in the *Chronica excepta* being, albeit accidentally, more authentic.[127] Although it is not a chronicle, the *Cronica sub conpendio abreuiata a fratre M. Parisiensi* contains historical materials as it is genealogical compilation. It can be found in three different versions in the opening and closing leaves of the *Chronica Majora* and the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*, and it portrays the reigns of the kings of England, starting with King Alfred (871-899) [128] There are two copies made outside St Albans, which tells of the success of this work.[129] In its style and content, it is similar to universal chronicles of the time, one of which (by Peter of Poitiers) was being copied at St Albans during Paris's life.[130] *The Cronica sub conpendio* features medallions with portraits of kings, with their children in smaller medallions below.

As described above, the *Chronica Majora* had at the end of *AB* (that is, both CCCC MS 26 and CCCC MS 16 II, which were a single manuscript) a collection of supporting documents, which was removed to become the *Liber Additamentorum* in BL Cotton MS Nero D I. The *Liber* was intended to be a repository of references for the *Chronica Majora* – as the *signes de renvoi* in the main text show - but it evolved into an extensive annex, including in itself two works of St Albans domestic history: the *Gesta Abbatum* and the *Vitae duorum Offarum*.[131] Vaughan ascertained that the documents and extracts in the *Liber* were put together from after 1250 in rough chronological order, and that the last one written by Paris dates from March 1259.[132] Not only documents were copied in the *Liber* as, apart from the *Gesta* and the *Vitae*, there are notes, drawings and maps. The whole formed a unique compendium of additional materials that was to be enlarged after Paris's death. Documents added to the *Liber* were varied, and included papal privileges and charters of St Albans.[133] It is now a codicologically complex manuscript, as discussed by Vaughan, and as

[125] Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268.
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268.
[128] BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, 6v-8r; CCCC MS 26, ivv, 285r/v; and CCCC MS 16 II, iiir/v.
[129] BL Cotton MS Julius D VII, 56b-59b; Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268.
[130] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 116.
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 83-85.
[133] Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268.

shown below.[134] There are many *signes de renvoi* found throughout the *Chronica Majora* that refer to the *Liber Additamentorum*, as means of reference for the reader, and they are either verbal or graphic.[135] The *Liber* gained in length and importance from 1247, becoming a reference book in itself and being referred to as the *Liber Additamentorum* in the *B* and *R* manuscripts.[136] From 1247 until his death in 1259, Paris continued to copy documents in the *Liber*. However, as with the *Chronica Majora*, Paris intended to finish it in 1250. The end product was to be *AB* – from the Creation to 1247 - together with their supporting documents bound to *B*. However, as he later decided to continue beyond 1250, as discussed above, the *Chronica* continued in *R* and the *Liber* became a separate manuscript c.1252.[137]

Paris compiled two works on domestic history, the *Gesta Abbatum* and the *Vitae duorum Offarum*. The *Gesta Abbatum* survives in two parts in BL Cotton MS Nero D I, and it outlines the abbacies of the heads of St Albans, based in the earlier years on a previous account by Adam the Cellarer – of whom little is known - and continuing up to Paris's own times.[138] Paris's text puts emphasis on land lawsuits – particularly in the early entries - and construction projects and reforms of the monastery, as with the construction of the scriptorium under Paul of Caen discussed above in this section. It also describes works of art given to or commissioned by St Albans' abbots, in an attempt to create a reference work on the history of the abbey.[139] The *Gesta Abbatum* set a model for future works, and it was continued up to the end of the fourteenth century by Thomas Walsingham, who used some of Paris's documents transcribed in the *Liber Additamentorum* to enlarge the original text.[140] In addition to the *Gesta Abbatum*, Paris also composed the *Vitae duorum Offarum*, a narration that links the legendary Offa of the Angles – who is said to have promised to found St Albans - and Offa of Mercia (*r.* 757-796) – who fulfilled this promise. Its purpose was to put emphasis on the regal and ancient origins of St Albans.[141] It was written,

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[134] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 85. A description of the manuscript and its hands can be found in chapter 4.a Description of scribal hands.
[135] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*. An account and examples some of these *signes* can be found in chapter 3.a The hand of Matthew Paris.
[136] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65-66.
[137] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 90.
[138] BL Cotton MS Nero D I, 30r-62r, 63v-68v; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 183-4. There is also a mention of 'Bartholomew the clerk', the author of a roll that Matthew Paris used in BL Cotton MS Nero D I (M. Hagger, 'The *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*: Litigation and History at St Albans', *Historical Research*, 81:213 (2008), 374).
[139] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 186.
[140] Walsingham's manuscript of the *Gesta Abbatum* is BL MS Nero D VII (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 185).
[141] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 190.

according to Vaughan, c. 1250, and its sources are mainly Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* and in some parts an unknown poem, oral legends and folk tales.[142] Even though the historical accuracy of the text is questionable, the *Vitae duorum Offarum* proved successful as a foundational history of St Albans, and it can now be found together with the *Liber Additamentorum* and the *Gesta Abbatum* in BL Cotton MS Nero D I.[143]

The third main category in Paris's works is hagiography, a genre Paris cultivated both in Latin and Anglo-Norman. In Latin, he wrote a Life of Edmund Rich (*Vita beati Edmundi),* and in Anglo-Norman verse, the *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, *Vie de Seint Thomas de Cantórbery*, *Vie de Seint Auban* (also including St Amphibalus) and *Vie de Seint Edmond*. He also composed a Latin Life of Stephen Langton (*Vita Stephani archiepiscopi Cantuarensis*), who, although not a saint, was a particularly relevant religious figure in England for his role in the events that led to Magna Carta in 1215.[144] There are only three surviving fragments of this text: BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII, f. 133v and BL Cotton MS. Nero D I, 196r/v, both being found as part of the *Liber Additamentorum*.[145] The fragments narrate the journey of Stephen Langton (c.1150-1228), archbishop of Canterbury (1207-1228) to Rome in 1216, where he met with Innocent III (1198-1216). They also tell of his preaching in his return journey, and the translation of Thomas Becket in 1220.[146] In relation to his portrayal in the *Chronica Majora* and *Historia Anglorum*, there are certain changes in the manuscript fragments that characterise Langton as more daring, refusing to pay tributes to Rome and openly antagonising the pope.[147] Liebermann edited the fragments in 1879.[148] The second of Paris's Latin hagiographies, *Vita Beati Edmundi*, survives only in a fourteenth-century copy, and was probably written, according to Lloyd and Reader and Vaughan, between 1247 and 1253.[149] Even though it was for some time attributed to Eustace of Canterbury, Matthew Paris's authorship was later confirmed by Wallace in the nineteenth century.[150] Its sources are various, and not only the *Chronica Majora* or Roger of Wendover's *Flores,* but it also includes materials from Pontigny and documents from Edmund's canonisation

[142] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 90, 193.
[143] BL Cotton MS Nero D I.
[144] For a detailed analysis of the text of the '*Vita Stephani archiepiscopi Cantuarensis*': B. Bolton, '*Pastor Bonus*: Matthew Paris's Life of Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury (1207-28)', *Dutch Review of Church History*, 84 (2004), 57-70.
[145] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 159.
[146] Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268.
[147] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 161.
[148] F. Liebermann, *Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen* (Strasbourg, 1879), 318-29.
[149] BL Cotton MS Julius D VI, 123r-156v; Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 165, 176-8.
[150] W. Wallace, *The Life of St Edmund of Canterbury from Original Sources* (London, 1893).

process, together with documents from Rober Bacon (c.1219/20 – c.1292), a letter from Richard Wych (1197-1253) and Edmund's bill of canonisation (1246).[151] The first edition of this hagiography was by Lawrence in 1960, together with other sources on St Edmund.[152] Lawrence also translated the *Vita* in 1996.[153] Matthew Paris translated his *Vita Beati Edmundi* into Anglo-Norman octosyllabic verse, as *Vie de Seint Edmond.*[154] There is only one fourteenth-century copy of this work in a volume that belonged to the Dukes of Portland at Welbeck (Nottinghamshire), as a previous manuscript was lost in the Cottonian fire of 1731.[155] It is estimated that it was composed after 1253, being the last of Paris's Anglo-Norman hagiographies.[156]

Paris's Anglo-Norman *Vie de Seint Thomas de Cantorbéry*, datable to *c.* 1220-1240, survives only in four leaves.[157] Although the work's authorship is not entirely clear, there are sufficient arguments in favour of Matthew Paris from text structure and syntax.[158] The four extant leaves from this work narrate the deeds of St Thomas Becket, closely based on the *Quadrilogus,* a twelfth-century mixture of biographical materials that includes text by John of Salisbury and Alan of Tewkesbury, among others.[159] From the same period as his life of St Thomas is an Anglo-Norman life of St Edward the Confessor (*c.* 1002/5 – 1066), the *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, preserved now in CUL MS Ee 3 59.[160] However, this is a copy made in the 1250s, and the original was part of the same manuscript as *Vie de Seint Thomas*, as concluded by Vaughan through textual evidence.[161] It has been dated approximately between 1236 and 1240, and it tells the story of King Edward, establishing an important parallelism: according to Lloyd and Reader, Paris gave the Confessor all the qualities he thought Henry III lacked.[162] He even dedicated the book to Queen Eleanor, which speaks of the moral value attached to it. Regarding its sources, this work is mainly a translation from Ailred of Rievaulx's *Vita Edwardi Confessoris* and *Genealogia regum Anglorum*,

[151] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 164.
[152] C. H. Lawrence, *St Edmund of Abingdon: A Study in Hagiography and History* (Oxford, 1960), 222-89.
[153] Lawrence, *The Life of St Edmund by Matthew Paris* (Oxford, 1996).
[154] Edited in *Vie de Seint Edmond*, ed. A. T Baker (*Romania*, LV, 1929). The translation was done, according to Vaughan and Lewis, for Countess Isabella of Arundel (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 181; Lewis, *The Art*, 10).
[155] BL Add MS 70513.
[156] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 168.
[157] Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268.
[158] *Ibid.*
[159] Lewis, *The Art*, 89. The four surviving leaves of the *Vie de Seint Thomas de Cantorbéry* are now in BL, Loans MS 88; and are edited in *Fragments d'une vie de Saint Thomas de Cantorbéry en vers accouplés,* ed. M. P. Meyer (Paris, 1885).
[160] Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* (Oxford, 1964)*,* 165; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 168.
[161] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 173-176.
[162] Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268.

and also includes information from Paris's own *Flores Historiarum*.[163] The only Anglo-Norman hagiography preserved in Paris's hand is the *Vie de Seint Auban* (TCD MS 177, 29r-50r). Both text and drawings were executed by Paris, the work being a translation from a twelfth-century Latin life of Alban included in the same manuscript.[164] This is the work referenced by Thomas Walsingham when writing about Paris being the author of *'the Lives of Saints Alban and Amphibalus'*, as the life of Amphibalus is also narrated in the text.[165] There has been some controversy over the dating of the manuscript, although most scholars agree that it is among the earliest in Paris's hand.[166]

Some of Paris's manuscripts do not contain original compilations or adaptations. Rather, they contain collections of texts that show Paris's wide interest in a number of subjects. Firstly, BdL Ashmole MS 304 contains a collection of fortune-telling tracts, with a number of illustrations ranging from portraits of classical philosophers to diagrams explaining the process of learning the answer to a question regarding the future.[167] Its text is drawn from different sources, such as Bernard of Chartres's *Experimentarius* (d.1124), the *Pronosticon Socratis Basilei* and the *Pronostica Pitagorice Considerationis*, compilations of Socratic and Pythagorical texts.[168] The second compilation is the collection of poetry by Henry d'Avranches (d.1260) in CUL Dd 11 78. This compilation is remarkable because it is a collection of poetry by a living author, a contemporary of Paris.[169] The compilations and hagiographies of Matthew Paris are complemented by his illustrations and by his several maps and itineraries to the Holy Land, all of which are usually captioned in his hand.[170]

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[163] *Ibid.*
[164] Paris included in the Dublin manuscript the Latin version before his Anglo-Norman translation (Vaughan, 'The Handwriting'; Lloyd, Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268).
[165] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 170.
[166] The most recent edition of the *Vie de Seint Auban* is J. Wogan-Browne and T. S. Fenster, *The Life of St Alban by Matthew Paris* (Tempe, 2010), although it had been edited by Atkinson in 1876 (*Vie de Seint Auban,* ed. Atkinson). For an account of the historiographical debate regarding Paris's manuscripts, see below (c. Historiographical approaches to Paris as author and scribe).
[167] This manuscript has only recently been made available online: http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/search/what/Manuscript?q=Ashmole%20304.
[168] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 257-258.
[169] Some of the poems in this manuscript have been edited in *Saints' Lives of Henry of Avranches*, ed. D. Townsend, 2 vols. (Harvard, 2014).
[170] On Matthew Paris's art: Lewis, *The Art*; and Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 205-34. On Paris's maps and itineraries, Mitchell, J. B., 'Early Maps of Great Britain. I: Matthew Paris Maps', *The Geographical Journal*, 81 (1933), 28-34; Harvey, P. D. A., 'Matthew Paris's Maps of Palestine', in M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England VIII: Proceedings from the Durham Conference 1999* (New York, 2001), 165-178; Connolly, D. K., 'Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris', *The Art Bulletin*, 81: 4 (1999), 598-622.; 'The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy', *History*, 95: 319 (2009), 368-369. A full description and discussion on Paris's hand are provided in chapter 3.a The hand of Matthew Paris.

c. Historiographical approaches to Paris as author and scribe

Mathew Paris has been the object of numerous publications in a number of disciplines. His sources, historical accuracy, artistic merit, cartography and political ideas have been the object of scholarly interest from the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the three most relevant historiographical debates on Matthew Paris in relation to this project are authorship, handwriting and collaboration. Most attention here will be devoted to the period between 1850 and 1958, which saw the main contributions to these three debates, polarised around the Rolls Series editions of some of Paris's works from 1850 and Vaughan's publications in the 1950s.

Up until c.1850, scholarship on Matthew Paris is represented by Matthew Parker's editions in the sixteenth century, a major new edition in the seventeenth, and the translations of the first half of the nineteenth century. Parker edited the *Flores Historiarum* in 1567 - still attributed to Matthew of Westminster – and reprinted it in 1570; he also edited the *Chronica Majora* in 1571 (reprinted in Zurich in 1589 and 1606), although the text was collated from both the original and later copies of the manuscript, which, together with edits and changes to the text, made these first printed editions particularly unreliable.[171] A second major edition was published in 1640 and its editor, Wats, improved the quality of the text from the Parker edition.[172] This second edition was reprinted in Paris and London in 1644 and 1684.[173] It was not until the first half of the nineteenth century that the *Chronica Majora* was first partially translated, into French and English, by Huillard-Bréholles and Giles, respectively.[174]

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the publication of the scholarly standard editions of most of Paris's works as part of the Rolls Series. The prefaces to these editions were the first attempts at summarising his works and reconstructing their origins, from sources to codicology, from authorship to illuminations. The first of these editions (1858) was of three *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, which included Paris's *Estoire de Seint Aedward le*

[171] *Flores historiarum,* ed. Parker (London, 1567); *Chronica Majora* (London, 1571); Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 155-6; *CM*, I, ix; *HA*, I, xxxiii-xxxvii; Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, I, xliv; III, 399-414.
[172] *Matthaei Paris Monachi Albanensis Angli, Historia Major juxta exemplar Londinense…indicibus locupletissimis*, ed. W. Wats (London, 1641); Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 155; *HA*, III, xxxv-xxxvi.
[173] *CM*, I, ix.
[174] A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Grand Chronique de Matthieu Paris*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1841); Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History.*

Rei.[175] However, its editor, Luard, did not associate the *Estoire* with Matthew Paris, and instead declared the work anonymous.

> The poem is dedicated to '*Alianore, riche Reine d'Engletere'*, i.e. Eleanor of Provence, Queen of Henry III. The author gives us very few hints as to who he was, or what was his condition; but from the very fact of King Edward being his subject, from the elaborate manner in which he has enlarged everything respecting Westminster that falls in his way, and especially from his interesting and full description of the church itself, we may perhaps think it most probable that he was connected with Westminster.[176]

It was not until 1920 that James associated the *Estoire* with Matthew Paris in his facsimile edition.[177] The facsimile editions of the *Estoire* and the partial photographic reproduction of the *Vie de Seint Auban* – discussed below – gave James the opportunity to relate these two works, together with the *Vie de Seint Thomas de Cantorbéry*, to Matthew Paris, and to establish that the these lives were composed for the laity.[178] The main piece of evidence for Paris's authorship of these three hagiographies is a passage by Thomas Walsingham:

> Expost Matthaeus Parisiensis claruit, qui Rogeri praedicti Chronicas necessarie ampliavit, et Vitas Sanctorum, Albani, Amphibali, Thomae et Edmundi, Archiepiscoporum Cantuariae, conscripsit et depinxit elegantissime [...].[179]

The second major publication of the Rolls Series related to Matthew Paris is Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, published between 1862 and 1871. It includes descriptions of and insights on Paris's historical manuscripts, made before Madden's edition of the *Historia Anglorum* and the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* (1866-69) and Luard's edition of the *Chronica Majora* (1872-1883). In relation to the *Chronica*, Hardy recognised Paris as the author of the portion up to 1253, considering the last portion of the *Chronica* in BL Royal MS 14 C VII not to have been created by him. Apart from the *Chronica Majora* (including the *Liber Additamentorum*) and *Historia Anglorum*, Hardy listed the texts he considered to be Paris's:[180]

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[175] *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, ed. H. R Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1858).
[176] *Lives of Edward*, ed. Luard,, x-xi.
[177] *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei: the Life of St Edward the Confessor, reproduced in facsimile from the unique manuscript (Cambrisdge University Library Ee.3.59)*, ed. M. R. James (Oxford, 1920).
[178] *Illustrations to the Life of St Albans in Trinity College, Dublin, MS E i 40*, eds. W. R. L. Lowe and E. F. Jacob (Oxford, 1924); Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 169-70; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 317.
[179] *Annales Monasterii S. Albani*, 2 vols. ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series (London, 1871), II, 303.
[180] Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, III, xlvii-xlviii.

1. The life and miracles of the protomartyr St Alban, after whom the monastery was called [*Vie de Seint Auban*]. This MS is in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and was exhibited to King Henry VI at a council held at Westminster.
2. The biography of the two Offas [*Vitae duorum Offarum*], the founders of St Albans, ornamented with large spirited drawings at the top of each page.
3. The *Gesta Abbatum* or the acts of the first twenty-three abbots of St Albans.
4. The lives of St Wulstan; St Guthlac; Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury [*Vie de Seint Thomas de Cantorbéry*]; Edmund de Pontigny, Archbishop of Canterbury [*Vita Beati Edmundi/Vie de Seint Edmond*]; Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury [*Vita Stephani archiepiscopi Cantuarensis*].
5. *Cronica excerpta e magnis cronicis Sancti Albani*, extending from 1066 to 1245, inclusive.

Hardy discarded Paris as the author of the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*, and also the idea that Paris was the scribe, rubricator and illuminator of his works:[181]

> More than this [Paris's authorship of the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*], they are persuaded that, in addition to all those literary labour, Matthew Paris made with his own hand fair copies of the greater portion of his own works, that he rubricated and ornamented them with drawings, invested them with gorgeous initial letters and heraldic designs; above all, that he found leisure and inclination to transcribe the labours of others, to make several copies of tables constructed by himself, and of the drawings which he had executed, besides those already mentioned. They would combine in the single person of this illustrious monk the character of author, compiler, abridger, scribe, rubricator and artist; and even point to specimens of his labour in all these directions which they assert are indisputable. I am not able to subscribe to these opinions; I cannot at all believe that Matthew Paris wrote with his own hand the manuscripts thus attributed to him, or that he is the author of the rubrics, ornaments, and elaborate initial letters as well as the coloured drawings and maps in the several manuscripts which are claimed for him.

The main argument put forward by Hardy was to refute the identification of Paris as the scribe of the manuscripts containing his own works. His main argument was that he could not have had the time to write, rubricate and illuminate the fair copies of his works, as 'a fiction, the product of the imagination, might perchance be written off hand; but certainly no production like the *Historia Major* [*Chronica Majora*] or the *Historia Anglorum* [...] could be so executed'.[182] Also, Hardy considered Paris was not the author of the illustrations or maps found in his works, as these roles 'were generally performed by different individuals' and 'the two arts of illuminator and rubricator were seldom practised by the same scribe who wrote the text'.[183] Hardy then provided more evidence for this, namely that the hand considered to be Paris's in BL Cotton Nero D I is different from that of the Corpus Christi

[181] Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, III, li-lii.
[182] Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, III, lii.
[183] Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, III, liii.

manuscripts, and from BL Royal MS 14 C VII.[184] However, there are no mention of the participation of more than one scribe per manuscript, and Hardy attributed the similarity of hands between them to a house style rather than variation within the same hand.[185] Thus, Hardy opened up the possibility of a St Alban's hand in order to explain the similarity between hands across multiple manuscripts, and considers improbable that the same scribe was responsible for the majority of Paris's manuscripts.[186] Additionally, Hardy denied the involvement of Paris in the Oxford Bible (CCCO MS 2).[187]

As mentioned above, Madden edited the *Historia Anglorum* and the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* between 1866 and 1869, while Hardy was in the process of publishing his catalogue. The main difference between Hardy and Madden is that the latter accepts the presence of Paris's handwriting in the manuscripts of his works.[188]

> It was no doubt the intention of Matthew Paris, to finish the *Chronica Majora* at the end of the year 1250 [...], but he consequently resumed it, and added the years 1251 to 1259 inclusive. [...] He had previously superintended an abridgement of the *Chronica Majora* under the original title of *Flores Historiarum*, and wrote the portion between 1241 and 1249 with his own hand; and immediately following on the Greater Chronicle, he commenced in 1250 the *Historia Anglorum*, which he brought down to 1253. Two years afterwards he compiled, in addition, a third but briefer work, which he entitled *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* [...]. [Paris] wrote and illustrated the smaller pieces contained in the MSS at Cambridge, C.C.C.C: xxvi and xvi, and MS Cott. Nero D. i.[189]

Overall, Madden added to Hardy's list of Paris's works the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*, and removed from it the lives of St Wulstan and St Guthlac. There are two innovations in Madden's analysis: firstly, as mentioned above, the recognition of Paris's hand; and second, the exploration of the possibility that Matthew of Westminster never existed. In this respect, Hardy did not consider the Chetham's manuscript – which he described - to be copied and illustrated by Matthew Paris, focusing instead on the reworking and continuation of the *Flores* Paris undertook in the *Chronica Majora*.[190] Madden credited John Bale (1495-1563) with creating the name Matthew of Westminster, based on the latter

[184] Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, III, liv. Hardy wrongly identifies the *Historia Anglorum*/*Chronica Majora* III manuscript as BL Royal MS 13 C XII.
[185] Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, III, liv.
[186] Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, III, lviii.
[187] Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, III, lvi-lvii. The Oxford Bible (CCCO MS 2) is one of the manuscripts analysed in this project (chapters 3.a The hand of Matthew Paris; and 4.a Description of scribal hands).
[188] *HA,* III, xxv.
[189] *HA*, III, xxv-xxvi.
[190] Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, III, xliv-xlvii.

section of the text being written at Westminster, which was then taken by Parker in his first edition of the *Flores* in 1567.[191] Madden established that Matthew of Westminster could not have existed not only because the text of the *Flores* mentions St Albans, but also because he found the Chetham's manuscript is partially written in Paris's hand.[192]

> Further than this [the early part of the *Flores* being textually similar to the *Chronica Majora*] no historical criticism has been exercised on the work, yet the evidence supplied by several passages of mere local interest after the above date [1259] would clearly point out the author or compiler as an inmate of St Alban's abbey, and a closer examination of the text soon led me to the conclusion that the entire work with the year 1265 must have been written in that monastery. This conclusion has been unexpectedly confirmed by the important discovery (made by myself) of the *original copy of the work*, which is at present preserved in the Chetham library at Manchester, No. 6712 [...]. This manuscript establishes beyond all doubt that the largest portion of the *Flores Historiarum*, attributed to the pseudo 'Matthew of Westminster' was written at St Alban's, under the eye and by direction of Matthew Paris, as an abridgement of his Greater Chronicle [...].[193]

Madden did not refer to a St Albans hand, and did not provide a description of Paris's hand. However, he did provide insight on the hands present in BL Royal MS 14 C VII. In the *Historia Anglorum*, Madden distinguished a hand that appears in other manuscripts ('a closer and darker' hand), while in the *Chronica Majora* III, he distinguished the scribe that is responsible for the colophon and drawing of Paris in his deathbed.[194] Madden's edition of the *Historia Anglourm* and the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* marked a turning point in the understanding of Matthew Paris as scribe, the confirmation of the non-existence of Matthew of Westminster, the inclusion of ChL MS 6712 in the corpus of Paris's manuscripts and the recognition of collaborating scribal hands.

Between 1872 and 1883, Luard – who had previously published the *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* – edited the *Chronica Majora* for the Rolls Series in seven volumes.[195] Luard's prologue states that there must have been a common source for both Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* and Paris's *Chronica Majora*, and that Matthew of Westminster's work (actually Paris's *Flores Historiarum*) was a copy of manuscript *A* of the *Chronica*. Luard attributed this

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[191] *HA*, I, xix-xx.
[192] *HA*, I, xxii.
[193] *HA*, I, xxi-xxii.
[194] *HA*, I, l-li. On the collaborating hand in the *Historia Anglorum*, chapters 4.a Description of scribal hands; and 4.b The scribes: A, B and C. On the collaborating hand in the *Chronica Majora* III, chapter 4.a Description of scribal hands.
[195] This edition (*CM*) incorporates the text from CCCC MS 26, CCCC MS 16 II and BL Royal MS 14 C VII.

common source, although not definitely, to abbot John de Cella.[196] Apart from naming Cambridge Corpus Christi College MSS 26 and 16 II as *A* and *B* – a denomination that has endured until today – he was the first to propose a theory of how the *Chronica Majora* was compiled, based on the sources of the text. Unlike Madden and Hardy, Luard did not deny the existence of Matthew of Westminster, but attributed the *Flores Historiarum* in ChL MS 6712 to a St Alban's hand:[197]

> Of these [manuscripts of *Flores Historiarum*] the earliest is the MS preserved in the Chetham Library at Manchester (No. 6712), which is written in various hands, a portion, namely that from 1241 to 1249, being written in what is distinctly a St Alban's hand, and which is supposed by Sir F. Madden to be Matthew Paris's own. [...] My belief is that the earlier portion of 'Matthew of Westminster' is a transcript with additions and omissions of the MS at Corpus Christi College [CCCC MS 26], made by some independent person after some few of the corrector's alterations were written, but before the greater portion of them, certainly before the longer inserted passages and with additions introduced by the individual [...].

Luard's conclusion that the Chetham's Library manuscript derives from CCCC MS 26 (*A*) is supported by the comparison between *A* and other, later copies of *Flores Historiarum*. His stance on authorship is Hardy's except for his view of the authorship of the lives of Wulstan and Guthlac, and the *Vitae duorum Offarum*, which Hardy considered not to be Paris's.[198] As to the hands in the *Chronica Majora*, Luard rejected the idea of Paris's hand being present in *A*:

> Under the name Matthew Paris, we have the two MS volumes, nos. 26 and 16 (which I denote by the letters A and B), in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, having the earlier portion, down to 1195, written in one or two scribes' hands of the beginning of the 13th century, and the later portion in the hand which has commonly been supposed to be that of Paris, and which certainly is a St Alban's hand. [...][199]

> In the first place, the scribe who wrote the Corpus Christi MS was a very illiterate and careless one. [...] Nor was the rubricator, who writes in a different hand, one of the regular St Alban's type, better than the scribe. [...] These errors are important as proving that the author could not have been the rubricator, and I think they are quite conclusive against the idea which was been entertained that Matthew Paris himself was the rubricator. Some of the above blunders it is impossible to believe that he could have committed.[200]

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196 *CM*, I, xiii.
197 *CM*, I, xv-xvi.
198 *CM*, I, xxxii-xxxiii.
199 *CM*, I, xi
200 *CM*, I, xxxix, xli

Luard was certain that *A* was just a copy of a lost previous text, and that only the notes and additions found in them are Matthew Paris's, 'whether written in his own hand or not'.[201] Overall, Luard adopted Hardy's conclusions in that only the later part of the *Chronica* could have been in Paris's hand, or a St Alban's hand. However, and despite the elaborate assessment of the manuscripts from a textual perspective, handwriting or illustrations are not consistently referred to, or fully described.

Although contradictory in some respects, the prefaces and prologues by Hardy, Luard and Madden in the Rolls Series editions of Paris's works paved the way for future scholarship. W. Hunt's *Dictionary of National Biography* entry on Matthew Paris in 1895 gives a succinct summary of their perspectives:

> Madden's Preface to *Historia Anglorum*, where too much seems to be attributed to him; Hardy's Catalogue of Materials, vol. iii […] seems to go somewhat too far on the other side; and Dr Luard's Preface to the *Chronica Majora*, where Hardy's conclusions are generally approved.[202]

In addition to the above, Luard also edited the *Flores Historiarum* for the Rolls Series in 1890; an edition of the *Vie de Saint Auban* was published in 1876 by Atkinson; the *Vie de Seint Thomas de Cantorbéry* was edited in 1885 by Meyer; and fragments of the *Flores Historiarum*, *Chronica Majora, Gesta Abbatum* and *Vita Stephani archiepiscopi Cantuariensis* were edited by Liebermann in 1888.[203] The edited extracts of the *Flores Historiarum* were ascribed by Liebermann to Matthew of Westminster. Also, Atkinson, in the introduction to the *Vie de Seint Auban*, disagreed with Hardy in that the *Vie*, contained in TCD MS 177, is not in the hand of Paris, and stated that Paris and a rubricator composed the Anglo-Norman text.[204] Apart from Liebermann and Atkinson, and even though Matthew Paris enjoyed a steady interest from scholars, the main hypotheses regarding manuscripts, authorship and handwriting remained close to those of Madden, Hardy and Luard. In terms of scribal collaboration, it is Madden who gave more importance to defining when and where scribes other than Paris write, particularly throughout the manuscript of the *Historia Anglorum*. Hardy provided a complete description of the historic evolution of St Alban's *scriptorium*

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[201] *CM*, I, lxxvi
[202] W. Hunt, 'Matthew Paris', in Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (LXIII vols., London, 1885-1900), XLIII, 2017-13.
[203] *Flores Historiarum*, 3 vols., ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1890); *Vie de Seint Auban: A Poem in Norman-French, ascribed to Matthew Paris*, ed. R. Atkinson (London, 1876); *Vie de Seint Thomas de Cantorbéry*, ed. M. P. Meyer (Paris, 1885); F. Liebermann, *Ungedruckte anglo-normannische;*; *Ex rerum Anglicarum scriptoribus saeculi XII et XIII*, ed. F. Liebermann and R. Paull (*Monumenta Germania Historica*, XXVII, 1925).
[204] *Vie de Seint Auban*, ed. Atkinson, viii-ix.

and the way it worked, although this is conjectural for the most part.[205] However, there are no specific mentions of scribal collaboration in Paris's compilations beyond the acknowledgement of the existence of other scribes who had, according to Hardy, no other role in the scriptorium than copying Paris's texts. Works published after the Rolls Series editions largely retained Madden, Luard or Hardy's opinion in regard to the attribution of manuscripts to Paris.

The first half of twentieth century brought about a few but select group of scholarly works on Matthew Paris. Galbraith and Powicke took specific stances with regards to authorship and handwriting when discussing some of Paris's works.[206] Galbraith explored the extent of Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris's involvement in the writing of history at St Albans, defending understanding Wendover and Paris's chronicles as part of a single chronicling effort yet without taking script into consideration.[207] Powicke put forward the idea, as mentioned above, that Paris could have died later than 1259; and he also questions the existence – related to abbot John de Cella (1195-1214) according to Luard - of a common text behind *A* and Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*.[208] However, according to Powicke, the additions and corrections in *A* were done using ChL MS 6712, recognising Matthew of Westminster as its author.[209] In terms of hands, Powicke believed *A* and *B* up to the annal of 1213 'are in the same hand', and are annotated in Paris's hand. From 1213 to 1235, another hand took over; and Paris wrote then the entries for 1235-1253. According to his analysis, the *Chronica Majora* III in BL Royal MS 14 C VII is not considered to contain Paris's hand.[210] Lastly, in 1912, James published his catalogue of the manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in which he provided the first modern catalogue descriptions of CCCC MS 26 and 16 II. In these descriptions, James described both Madden and Hardy's arguments for and against the appearance of Paris's hand in both manuscripts, siding with Hardy in believing that Paris's hand only appears in marginalia and corrections. This description also summarises the extent of participation of non-Paris hands: two in CCCC MS 26 and two in CCCC MS 16 II.[211]

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[205] Hardy, *Descriptive catalogue*, III, xxxii-xliv.
[206] Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris*; Powicke, 'The Compilation'.
[207] Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris*, 11-12.
[208] Powicke, 'The Compilation', 148-9.
[209] Powicke, 'The Compilation', 150-1.
[210] Powicke, 'The Compilation', 157.
[211] CCCC MS 26 (Hand 1: f.1-14; 21-30; 33-36; 39-117; 193-252; 257-282; Hand 2: 117-192); CCCC MS 16 II (Hand 1: 1-3v; 8-10v; 13-32b; 46va-50b; Hand 2: 32b-33vb; 55-61vb and over erasures on 157 and 197) in M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College* (Cambridge, 1912), 51, 54.

The discussion of Paris's manuscripts and the compilation of the *Chronica Majora* continued in the 1920s. Publications included a facsimile of TCD MS 177, introduced by James, among other articles dedicated to Paris's illustrations.[212] In James's introduction to the reproductions of TCD MS 177, he discussed the authorship of the manuscript:

> The man who versified the legend, and who most probably drew the pictures – who at the very least designed them and supervised the drawing of them – is the greatest of medieval English historians and the glory of St Albans Abbey, Matthew Paris. That he wrote with his own hand the text of the French legend and the rubrics which explain the pictures is also probable.
>
> [...] This man [the author of the *Vie de Seint Auban*] evidently lived at St Albans in the middle of the thirteenth century. But really there is little need for beating about the bush. We have explicit evidence which point directly to Matthew Paris as being the person in question.[213]

James confirmed not only the authorship of the *Vie*, but also admitted the possibility that Paris wrote it and illustrated it as well. However, it was not until the 1950s that a consensus in relation to Paris's works and handwriting was reached, when Vaughan published the two most influential pieces of Matthew Paris scholarship, 'The Handwriting of Matthew Paris' and *Matthew Paris*. Richard Vaughan (1927-2014), fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, was a medievalist and ornithologist who, due to his relationship with the College, could study the Corpus Christi College manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora* extensively. In his introduction to 'The Handwriting of Matthew Paris', Vaughan explained the main drive behind his new description of Paris's script:

> Before, however, any positive arguments are adduced, it is essential to review the opinions of earlier workers on Matthew Paris, and, in particular, to show that the views of Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, which seem to have influenced many later writers, are in fact unconvincing.[214]

As mentioned above, Hardy's views on the attribution of manuscripts to Matthew Paris attracted more support than those of Madden. Vaughan set out to contest some of Hardy's

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[212] *Illustrations to the Life of St Albans in Trinity College, Dublin, MS E i 40*, eds. W. R. L Lowe and E. F. Jacob (Oxford, 1924); 'The Drawings of Matthew Paris', *Walpole Society*, 14 (1926), 18-21; J. P. Gilson, H. Poole *et al.*, *Four Maps of Great Britain designed by Matthew Paris about AD 1250: reproduced from three manuscripts in the British Museum and one at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (London, 1928). F. Wormald, 'More Matthew Paris drawings', *Walpole Society*, 31 (1946), 109-12.
[213] *Illustrations*, eds. Lowe and Jacob, 11, 17.
[214] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting'.

conclusions by describing Paris's handwriting. However, as the author's method was to compare previous scholarship with his own findings, the description is done only from a comparative point of view. The general appearance of the script and letter-forms are described, but the description omits important features.[215] Vaughan's description of Paris's hand is based upon a description of aspect and of a number of characteristic letterforms (**a**, **d**, **g**, **s**), tironian *et* and features of other letterforms such as the lobes of **b**, **p** and **g**; the shoulder of **r** and the ascenders of **b**, **h** and **l**.

> It is the general characteristics of a hand, rather than the formation of individual letter, which enables us to identify the handwriting of a particular person, and one of the most striking features of Paris's handwriting is the great variety of letter-forms which he uses.[216]

Because Vaughan's description is based upon the principles outlined above, there are aspects of Paris's hand that are not described, as they are not part of Vaughan's 'general characteristics'.[217] Apart from letterforms and tironian *et*, Vaughan also provided a general description of Paris's rubrics and current titles, and provides insight into *mise-en-page*. However, one of Vaughan's major contributions in relation to Paris's hand is the acknowledgement of its evolution through time:

> The only reasonable explanation of these differences [between different samples of writing] is that the MSS were written at different times in Paris's life, and that his writing developed from being controlled and regular in his youth […] to its most characteristic form […]; and that with approaching old age it became coarse and untidy […], until the shaky hand of a sick old man within a few months of his death reveals itself only too clearly.[218]

This understanding of the evolution of Paris's script led Vaughan to establish a relative chronology of Paris's manuscripts. This idea was not new, since the Rolls Series editors identified some instances of Paris's hand as having been produced later in life, based on changes in aspect. Madden – who attributed more manuscripts to Paris's hand than Luard and Hardy – stated this when discussing the last part of the *Historia Anglorum*:[219]

> For some years previous to this [Paris's death] – to judge from the unequal and altered character of the handwriting in his original manuscripts - the infirmities of

[215] For a more detailed account of Vaughan's description of Paris's handwriting, see chapter 3.a The hand of Matthew Paris.
[216] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 386.
[217] See chapter 3.a The hand of Matthew Paris.
[218] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting'.
[219] *HA*, III, xxi.

> age or a declining state of health had gradually affected him, so that he was obliged at intervals to make use of the friendly aid of a fellow-monk to write the concluding portions of his works.

However, the main difference between Madden and Vaughan is that the latter accompanied his ideas on the ageing of the hand with a more detailed description of changes to the aspect of the hand, in the context of a general palaeographical and codicological description. Apart from providing a practical guide for identifying Paris's hand, Vaughan also sought to settle disputes around the 'St Albans hand'.[220] This concept, mentioned above in relation to the Rolls Series editors, provided an explanation for the similarities in aspect of hands across manuscripts produced at St Albans. In the specific case of St Albans, the morphological variety in Paris's hand was interpreted as a house style.[221] Hardy and Luard are the main supporter of the existence of a St Albans hand in relation to Paris's manuscripts. Hardy, in his description of ChL MS 6712, described the main hand – subsequently identified as Paris's hand by Madden in comparison with BL Royal MS 14 C VII – as to have the 'broken-back letters peculiar to St Albans' and to have been copied at St Albans.[222] Similarly, when describing the main hand of BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, Hardy stated that 'the writer belonged to the scriptorium of St Alban's', based again on the use of broken-back ascenders.[223] This identification of elements common to St Albans is continued by Luard in his edition of the *Chronica Majora*, putting forward the idea of a St Albans 'character'.

> [...] and the later portion [of CCCC MS 26] in the hand which has commonly been supposed to be that of Paris, and which certainly is a St Alban's hand. [...] Numerous additions and corrections, some on inserted leaves, others in the margins or between the lines, in certainly more hands than one, but all bearing distinctly the St Alban's character.[224]

Both Hardy and Luard identified the use of broken-back ascenders as a characteristic element of writing at St Albans. Yet Luard, in his edition of the *Flores Historiarum*, ascribed the text up to 1242 to St Albans, even though only one of the hands bears the 'St Albans character'.[225] Vaughan discussed that the supposed common element to St Albans scribes

[220] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 384-6.
[221] *Ibid.*; Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, III, cxxxiv; *CM*, I, xi.
[222] Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, III, cxxxiv.
[223] *Ibid.*
[224] *CM*, I, xi.
[225] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 384; *FH*, I, xiv, xxxv.

does not appear in most hands, and when it does is in what he identifies as Paris's hand.[226] Therefore, in the specific case of the first half of the thirteenth century, what was considered to be the St Albans hand in Paris's manuscripts is Paris's hand.[227] Vaughan also advanced in his article the number of collaborating scribes in Paris's manuscripts. Within the eighteen manuscripts identified as to contain Paris's hand, Vaughan found fifteen scribes other than Paris, although he does not describe these hands.

> So far as I have been able to ascertain, there exist still examples of the work of fifteen scribes who have collaborated closely with Paris, at one time or another, in the production of MSS. Some of these were habitual helpers of Paris, like the second scribe of part two of the *Chronica Majora*, who also wrote out some charters for Paris in his *Liber Additamentorum*; and the scribe who finished his last historical works for him [...]. Other may have worked with him only over the production of a single MS, like the scribe of the Bible in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford [CCCO MS 2].[228]

In a footnote to the above statement, Vaughan provided slightly more concise information regarding the fifteen collaborating scribes (below), although it does not include descriptions and excludes CUL Dd 11 78 and other manuscripts in Vaughan's own handlist.[229]

> This statement [above] is based on a careful examination of MSS nos. 1 [CCCC MS 16 II] (three scribes, one of whom also writes in MS 3); 2 [ChL MS 6712] (two scribes); 3 [BL Cotton MS Nero D I] (at least two scribes not writing in any of the other MSS; 4 and 5 [BL Royal MS 14 C VII and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI] (one scribe, who also writes in MS 3); 6 [TCD MS 177] (one scribe); 7 [BdL Ashmole MS 304] (one scribe); 9 [CCCO MS 2] (one scribe); 12 [CCCC MS 26] (three scribes); and 16 [BL Cotton MS Nero D V] (one scribe).[230]

With 'The Handwriting of Matthew Paris', Vaughan provided a guide to identifying Paris's hand, to disputing the idea of a St Alban's hand, to describing the ageing of Paris's hand, and to acknowledging the existence of scribal collaboration in Paris's manuscripts more directly. However, the description of Paris's hand is generally impressionistic and based on aspect and some characters, excluding abbreviation and punctuation (except for tironian *et*), and without a discussion of the place of Paris's hand in the overall palaeographic context of the period. In relation to scribal collaboration, 'The Handwriting' is the first piece of

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[226] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 384.
[227] The 'broken-back' element in Paris's hand is described in chapter 3.a The hand of Matthew Paris.
[228] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 384-5.
[229] These are: BL Royal MS 4 D VII, BL Cotton MS Vitellius A XX, BL Royal MS 13 D V, BL Royal MS 13 E VI, BL Cotton MS Julius D VII and CCCC MS 385. BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 only contains Paris's hand (Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 390-92).
[230] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 384, footnote 8.

scholarship to discuss the phenomenon across most of Paris's manuscripts and the first to advance a number of collaborators. However, as discussed below, this estimation leaves out some manuscripts containing Paris's hand, and it is not accompanied by descriptions of the hands.[231] In 1958, Vaughan published *Matthew Paris*, a monograph which not only incorporated the conclusions of his previous article, but provided a comprehensive analysis of Paris's life, works, authorship and manuscripts. It is in relation to authorship that Vaughan set to settle the discrepancies amongst the Rolls Series editors, particularly in the *Flores Historiarum*, the last part of the *Chronica Majora* and the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*.

As discussed above, the extant manuscripts of the *Flores Historiarum* and the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*, were, at least partially, written by Matthew Paris. However, Luard and other authors like Liebermann refused to believe in Paris's intellectual authorship of these texts due to the textual errors found in them, an aspect that was contested by Galbraith when he showed a number of textual common phrases and words common to other Paris texts like the *Chronica Majora*.[232] Vaughan, with additional examples of repeated quotations and matching words across manuscripts, elaborated this textual evidence further, identifying these textual mistakes as Paris's. The last section of the *Chronica Majora*, from the annal of 1254 up to but excluding the colophon showing Matthew Paris in his deathbed in 1259, had been considered by Hardy and also by Denholm-Young as not to have been composed by Paris, but by the scribe who took over and composed the well-known colophon, as they believed there was not sufficient evidence to prove Paris's authorship.[233] The meaning of *perscripsit* in the colophon – [...] *hucusque perscripsit venerabilis vir frater Matheus Parisiensis* [...] - was not seen as sufficient to attribute authorship, although it was enough for establishing the year of Paris's death, as discussed above. Vaughan settled this by translating the colophon as 'up to this point wrote the venerable man, brother Matthew Paris', which supported his argument that Matthew Paris was the author – not the scribe – of this last section of the *Chronica*.[234] Apart from these manuscripts, Vaughan identified Matthew Paris as the author of the *Vitae duorum Offarum, Cronica excerpta a magnis cronicis* (at least with Paris's supervision) and the *Gesta Abbatum*.[235] In terms of handwriting, Vaughan identified the *Vitae duorum Offarum* and the *Gesta Abbatum,* which are part of the same manuscript as

[231] See chapter 4.a Description of scribal hands.
[232] *FH*, I, xxxviii-xxxix; *Ex rerum Anglicarum scriptoribus saeculi XII et XIII*, ed. F. Liebermann and R. Paull (*Monumenta Germania Historica*, XXVII, 1925), 101-2; Galbraith, *Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris*, 32.
[233] Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. 3, 154-55; N. Denholm-Young, *Handwriting in England and Wales* (Cardiff, 1954), 52.
[234] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 36-7.
[235] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 41.

the *Liber Additamentorum* (BL Cotton MS Nero D I), as to be in Paris's hand.[236] Similarly, the *Chronica excerpta a magnis cronicis* is found in BL Cotton MS Vitellius A XX and shows, according to Vaughan, the hand of Paris at the beginning and in numerous corrections and additions.[237] The discussion of authorship is accompanied by a revision of the relationship between Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, an analysis of BL Cotton MS Nero D I, ChL MS 6712 and the manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora*, an exploration of Paris as a historical and hagiographical author and some notes on Paris as an artist and cartographer, and his wider interests in heraldry, natural phenomena and astrology. Overall, *Matthew Paris* is a compendium of existing scholarship on Matthew Paris, together with the consideration of Paris's works as a whole, which allowed Vaughan to put forward a relative chronology of Paris's manuscripts and to settle previous debates on authorship, as discussed above.[238] After the Rolls Series editions, *Matthew Paris* was the second turning point in the scholarship of Matthew Paris. Apart from Lewis's *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, there has been no more publication on Matthew Paris's manuscripts, hand or scribal collaboration since Vaughan, and his arguments on the authorship of Paris's works and Paris's handwriting have not been contested since.

The next array of publications on Paris's manuscripts appeared more than twenty years after Vaughan's *Matthew Paris*, and they were articles on very specific aspects of Paris's manuscripts, particularly his hagiographies.[239] Since then, a number of doctoral theses and articles have appeared contextualising Matthew Paris, analysing the historical context of his chronicles, or relating Paris's works to particular periods, like Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest, whilst Lewis's *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* provided a comprehensive analysis of Paris's style as an artist.[240] A new biography of Matthew Paris was published in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* in 2004, providing a starting point for research that included the latest bibliography.[241] A more specific avenue has been pursued by Weiler, who has published several articles on Paris in relation to political and ideological realities, to his time in Norway and to his self-perception as a

[236] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 42-8.
[237] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 41.
[238] See Appendix.
[239] N. J. Morgan, 'Matthew Paris, St Albans, London, and the Leaves of the Life of St Thomas Becket', *Burlington Magazine*, 130 (1988), 85-96; F. McCulloch, 'Saints Alban and Amphibalus in the Works of Matthew Paris: Dublin, Trinity College MS 177', *Speculum*, LVI: 4 (1981), 761-785.
[240] R. Reader, 'Matthew Paris and Anglo-Saxon England' (Durham Univ. Ph.D thesis, 1994); R. Reader, 'Matthew Paris and the Norman Conquest', in J. Blair and B. Golding, *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvery* (Oxford, 1996), 118-47; Lewis, *The Art.*
[241] Lloyd and Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259)'.

historian.[242] The latest academic projects on Matthew Paris are the forthcoming *Cambridge Companion to Matthew Paris*, edited by J. Clark, and three doctoral theses.[243]

The scholarship on Matthew Paris has followed a relatively clear path. From the first editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the Rolls Series editions were the first ones to include introductory research pieces and these set the scene for scholarly discussion until the 1950s. The definition of a corpus of Paris's works, and especially the authorship, structure and sources of the *Chronica Majora* and *Historia Anglorum* were the main aims of the Rolls editors, whose editions are still essential. The first decades of the twentieth century saw the publication of photographic reproductions of Paris's illustrations, particularly of his hagiographies, accompanied by scholarly introductions. In the 1950s Vaughan researched all aspects of Paris's output, and that allowed him to produce a monograph that dealt with all the previous debates on authorship and handwriting. Most importantly, Vaughan's description of Paris's hand is the first that describes it in depth and is, together with *Matthew Paris*, the starting point of any project on Paris and his manuscripts. After Vaughan there were fewer publications on Paris's manuscripts until Lewis's *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* in 1987, which is Vaughan's counterpart in art historical matters. More recently, scholarship has shown an interest in specific aspects of Paris's works, such as maps, Paris's interpretation of sources and of historical events, effectively moving away from palaeographical or codicological issues. Lastly, the latest projects on Matthew Paris research newsgathering, the writing of history at St Albans, and a reassessment of the textual compilation of the *Chronica Majora*.[244] In 2018, Laura Cleaver and Andrea Worm edited *Writing History in the Anglo-Norman World*, where Paris's *Vie de Seint Auban* is revisited in relation to its readership.[245] The most relevant forthcoming publication, the Cambridge *Companion* mentioned above, will gather

[242] Weiler, 'Matthew Paris on the Writing of History'; 'Matthew Paris in Norway'; 'Matthew Paris and Europe'; '*Stupor Mundi*: Matthäus Paris und die zeitgenössische Wahrnehmung Friedrichs II. in England', in K. Görich, T. Broekmann and J. U. Keupp (ed.), *Herrschaftsräume, Herrschaftspraxis und Kommunikation zur Zeit Friedrichs II* (Munich, 2008); 'Historical Writing and the Experience of Europeanization: The View from St Albans'.

[243] M. Weiss, 'Die Chronica Maiora des Matthaeus Parisiensis. Arbeitsweise – Darstellung – Prozesshaftigkei' (Trier Univ. Ph.D thesis, 2016); Greasley, 'Matthew Paris's Networks of Information'; J. Coatesworth, 'The Historians and Historiography of St Albans in Manuscript and Print, c. 1200 – 1700' (Manchester Univ. Ph.D thesis, in progress, expected 2018).

[244] Revealingly, the Leeds International Medieval Congress of 2016 saw two sessions on Matthew Paris, organised by Björn Weiler, showing the field has continued to generate interest among scholars.

[245] L. Cleaver and A. Worm (eds.), *Writing History in the Anglo-Norman World. Manuscripts, Makers and Readers, c.1066-c.1250* (York, 2018).

different perspectives on Matthew Paris – history writing, manuscripts, book history, art –, which will provide another updated view of the field.

2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus

The objectives of this project require a special consideration of its methodology. A multifaceted approach is needed in order to redefine Paris's hand, to quantitatively assess it, and to produce a relative chronology of the manuscripts in the corpus. It is also needed to identify and describe collaborating hands in the corpus to analyse their contribution.[1] The various arenas in which this research is carried out inevitably put it at an intersection between palaeographic method, digital tools and quantification. The observation of the manuscript materials, the use of digital tools, and the techniques used to make the results manageable are all closely interrelated. In this chapter, scribal identification, the study of the ageing of the script and of scribal collaboration; the possibilities offered by Digital Humanities for digital palaeographic description, the creation of a corpus of manuscripts and a common descriptive terminology for them, and the adoption of statistical techniques to reach conclusions based on large amounts of data will be explored.

The initial manuscript evaluation and hand identification, both of Matthew Paris and his collaborators, uses palaeographic methods and benefits from scholarship in the fields of scribal identification, personal handwriting, scribal collaboration and ageing of script. The digital aspect of the project receives the name MParisPal and is an application of Archetype, one of the most extended digital semi-automated platforms for the study of script today, which is used to store, analyse and display manuscript digitisations. The analysis of Paris's hand and of the hands of his collaborators is based on a newly-created, project-specific terminology, and is realised through direct annotation on digital images. Lastly, and in order to interpret the annotations and to give a basis for the analysis of the evolution of script, quantitative methods are used in the shape of statistics and charts. This triple approach – palaeographic, digital and quantitative – therefore responds to the specific needs of this project and succeeds in achieving its main objectives.[2]

[1] See chapter 1.a Objectives.
[2] See chapter 5. Conclusions.

Scribal identification, the ageing of script and scribal collaboration

The analysis of Matthew Paris's hand and of the hands of his collaborators, and the tracing of chronological change in Paris's hand will be addressed in this dissertation by employing a number of aspects of the palaeographic method. Scholars have approached the identification and study of personal handwriting from various perspectives, producing descriptions of hands of well-known authors, or specific studies or reassessments of the hand of a single author or scribe.[3] Closely related to the identification and description of a particular hand, and in cases where there are multiple samples of the same hand, is the ageing of the script. Tracing how a script changes through time is desirable when there are no other elements of manuscript dating, or these are not conclusive, and as a means to understand chronological change in handwriting. Lastly, the third way in which palaeographic methods have been applied to this project is through the study of scribal collaboration. The process by which several scribes work together in the production of one or more manuscripts is, in the case of Matthew Paris, one of the aspects that has received less scholarly attention, and constitutes one of the main objects of this project.[4]

[3] Including, but not limited to: N. R. Ker, 'William of Malmesbury's Handwriting', *The English Historical Review*, 59 (1944), 371-76; Vaughan, 'The Handwriting'; A. C. De la Mare, *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists* (Oxford, 1973); R. M. Thomson, 'The 'scriptorium' of William of Malmesbury', in M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson (eds.), *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N. R. Ker* (London, 1978), 117-142; M. B. Parkes, 'The Handwriting of St Boniface', in M. B. Parkes (ed.) *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991), 121-142; C. Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991); M. Gullick, 'The Hand of Symeon of Durham: Further Observations on the Durham Martyrology Scribe', in D. Rollason (ed.), *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North* (Stamford, 1998), 14-31; S. Horobin, 'The Criteria for Scribal Attribution: Dublin, Trinity College MS 244 Reconsidered', *The Review of English Studies*, 60: 245 (2009), 371-81; L. R. Mooney, 'A Holograph Copy of Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 33 (2011), 263-296; T. De Robertis, 'Digrafia nel Trecento: Andrea Lancia e Francesco di ser Nardo da Barberino' *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 26 (2012), 221–35; T. De Robertis, 'Una mano tante scritture: Problemi di metodo nell'identificazione degli autografi', in *Medieval Autograph Manuscripts: Proceedings of the XVIIth Colloquium of the Comité international de paléographie latine*, ed. Nataša Golob (Turnhout, 2013), 17–38; L. R. Mooney and S. Stubbs, *Scribes and the City: London Guildhall Clerks and the Dissemination of Middle English Literature 1375-1425* (York, 2013); P. A. Stokes, *English Vernacular Minuscule from Æthelred to Cnut, circa 990 – circa 1035* (Cambridge, 2014); Deborah E. Thorpe, 'British Library, MS Arundel 249: Another Manuscript in the Hand of Ricardus Franciscus', *Notes and Queries*, 61 (2014), 188-196; D. W. Mosser and L. R. Mooney, 'More Manuscripts by the Beryn Scribe and his Cohort', *The Chaucer Review*, 49 (2014), 39-76; Thorpe and Alty, 'What Type of Tremor did the Medieval 'Tremulous Hand of Worcester' have?', *Brain*, 138 (2015), 3123-27; Martin Bauch, "*Et hec scripsi manu mea propria*': Known and Unknown Autographs of Charles IV as Testimonies of Intellectual Profile, Royal Literacy and Cultural Transfer', in S. Barret, D. Stutzmann and G. Vogeler (eds.), *Ruling the Script in the Middle Ages: Formal Aspects of Written Communication (Books, Charters and Inscriptions)* (Turnhout, 2016), 25-47; L. Mooney and D. W. Mosser, 'The Case of the Hooked-g Scribe(s) and the Production of Middle English Literature, c. 1460-c.1490, *The Chaucer Review*, 51:2 (2016), 131-150.

[4] See chapter 1.a Objectives.

The methodologies employed by scholars that have identified idiosyncratic hands, discussed the ageing of the script, and studied scribal collaboration are discussed in this section, as they inform the way this project understands the description of Paris's hand, the identification of scribal hands prior to digitisation, and the interpretation of digital data on scribal hands and on the evolution of Paris's hand. These three themes – identification of idiosyncratic hands, ageing of the script and scribal collaboration – constitute one of the methodological bases of this dissertation together with Digital Humanities and quantitative techniques. The discussion below is followed by an assessment of how these sometimes differing approaches to the study of handwriting have informed the development of this dissertation's approach to the hand of Matthew Paris and his scribal collaborators.

An example of the identification of an idiosyncratic hand is that of St Boniface (c.675-c.754). Lindsay had identified in 1910 some examples of eighth-century manuscript material as written by St Boniface, although, as with William of Malmesbury, this initial identification lacked a palaeographical description.[5] In 1976, Parkes analysed a number of manuscripts in search of the hand of St Boniface, making judgements about the identity of the scribes based mainly on the aspect, *ductus* and alignment of the script.[6] Thus, Parkes was able to identify two glossing hands, A and B, initially distinguished by the above-mentioned criteria but further confirmed by morphological evidence, namely the length of the descenders of **g**, **p**, **q**, **f** and **s**.[7] Another element analysed by Parkes was scribal habits, namely the presence or absence of ligatures.[8] Together with some letterforms and ductus, aspect and alignment of the script, Parkes concluded that a number of manuscripts contain the hand of A 'over a period of years', in clear reference to changes to the script through time.[9] In order to identify glossing hand A as the hand of St Boniface, Parkes first compared samples of the hand with other manuscripts with known origins, successfully pinning down the origin of the A glosses to South-West England (although the main text is continental).[10] Lastly, Parkes analysed the text written by A and the relationship between the hand samples and the manuscripts from the Benedictine monastery of Fulda, to conclude that scribe A can be identified as St Boniface.[11]

[5] W. M. Lindsay, *Early Irish Minuscule Script* (Oxford, 1910), 10-12.
[6] Parkes, 'The Handwriting', 121-142.
[7] Parkes, 'The Handwriting', 124
[8] Parkes, 'The Handwriting', 124-5.
[9] Parkes, 'The Handwriting', 126.
[10] Parkes, 'The Handwriting', 126-8.
[11] Parkes, 'The Handwriting', 142.

The identification of the script of other known authors reveal processes of reassessment of previous identifications or descriptions. The hand of William of Malmesbury (c.1095-c.1143) has a long scholarly history that starts with Hamilton's edition of the *Gesta Pontificum* in 1870 for the Rolls Series.[12] The first partial description of the hand was published by F. Madan in the introduction of Stubbs' edition of the *Gesta Regnum*, also for the Rolls Series, between 1887 and 1889.[13] In the introduction, Madan describes several characteristic features of the hand of Malmesbury: the abbreviation for *-orum,* the tironian *nota* for *enim* and *et*, the particular way of writing the ligature *ct*, **g**, accents and a *signe de renvoi*.[14]. One of Malmesbury's manuscripts, Lambeth Palace MS 224, was considered by Hamilton, Madan and Stubbs to contain mostly Malmesbury's hand, an identification that was incorporated in James and Jenkins's description of the manuscript in their *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*.[15] Both the description of the hand of William of Malmesbury and the identification of his hand in a number of manuscripts including the Lambeth Palace manuscript were reassessed by Ker in 1944.[16] While generally agreeing with Madan's description of the hand, Ker revised the identification of the hand in the five manuscripts that had been ascribed to him by the Rolls Series editors, effectively discrediting previous scholars in their identification of the main hand of the Lambeth Palace manuscript as Malmesbury's.[17] The description of the hand was enlarged by Thomson, who worked on Malmesbury's book collection and *scriptorium*.[18] The main element added to the original description by Thomson was the differentiation between a formal and an informal hand, sometimes using both irrespective of the type of text, which suggested to him that the formal hand is later than the informal one, as it might show William's learning process.[19] Additionally, Thomson discussed scribal collaboration in manuscripts attributed to William of Malmesbury. As with Matthew Paris, the manuscripts associated with Malmesbury are linked to him personally – by direct participation, supervision and usage – more than to Malmesbury abbey.[20] Thomson identifies forty-four

[12] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque,* 2 vols., ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, Rolls Series (London, 1870).
[13] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, 2 vols., ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series (London, 1887-89); Madan's introduction starts in I, cxxxii.
[14] *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, I, xxx; II, 596.
[15] M. R. James and C. Jenkins, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1900), 32.
[16] Ker, 'William of Malmesbury's Handwriting', 371-3.
[17] Magdalen College Oxford Lat. 172; BdL Arch. Selden B 16; BdL Auct. F.3.14, Lincoln College Oxford Lat. 100, and Lamber Palace MS 224 (Ker, 'William of Malmesbury's Handwriting', 371).
[18] Thomson, 'The 'scriptorium".
[19] Thomson, 'The 'scriptorium", 120.
[20] Thomson, 'The 'scriptorium", 120.

hands besides Malmesbury's in a corpus of thirteen manuscripts; and of these, three write in more than one manuscript.[21] Similar to CUL Dd 11 78 - as analysed below in Chapter 4 - one of the manuscripts in Thomson's corpus (BdL MS Auct. F.3.14) contains the hands of fourteen scribes, none of which appear again in the corpus.[22] The explanation put forward by Thomson is that Malmesbury did not have an organised scriptorium that could support the production of a manuscript like this, and that he distributed the work by quires or by text amongst fellow monks.[23] The result is a rough manuscript of unequal quality and disparate hands that was supervised by Malmesbury, who possibly also was responsible for ensuring the access to exemplars (computistical texts by Isidore, Bede and Helperic, among others).[24] Although the scribal hands are not described, their distribution within the manuscripts is provided, and a clear sense of the large extent of scribal collaboration in these manuscripts emerges. It is particularly the large stints of scribes A, B and C – those that appear in more than one manuscript -, which point towards a case of intense scribal collaboration.[25]

Another well-known author whose idiosyncratic handwriting has been identified and analysed is Symeon of Durham (d. 1129). Gullick demonstrated that a scribe identified in a large number of manuscripts related to Durham could be the historian Symeon of Durham. He made the identification on the basis of chronological evidence – the manuscripts are dated during his active years - the type of text – suitable for the author's occupation as cantor - and the alterations and corrections in some of the manuscripts, which are authorial in nature.[26] Gullick also distinguished between Symeon's roles in the production of manuscripts – author, scribe, editor, rubricator -, and reconstructs his scribal activity chronologically.[27] The hand of the Durham historian is only briefly described, highlighting the stability of the hand and the minor differences between its formal and informal types.[28] Gullick also acknowledged that the hand of Symeon of Durham – and that of all medieval scribes – changed through time even though it kept some stable

[21] *Ibid.*
[22] Thomson, 'The 'scriptorium'', 127-8.
[23] Thomson, 'The 'scriptorium'', 128.
[24] Thomson, 'The 'scriptorium'', 127.
[25] Thomson, 'The 'scriptorium'', 141-2.
[26] Gullick, 'The Hand of Symeon of Durham', 14.
[27] Gullick, 'The Hand of Symeon of Durham', 16-23.
[28] Gullick, 'The Hand of Symeon of Durham', 23.

characteristics, questioning thus the tendency to assume identified scribal hands stay the same through the scribes' careers.[29]

Additionally, Gullick hypothesised about the approximate speed of scribal writing based on tenth and eleventh-century manuscripts, a formula that has been used in this project to give the approximate time employed by Matthew Paris and the collaborating scribes to produce their stints.[30] Comparing medieval mentions to the time employed to produce a manuscript with the speed of a modern calligrapher, Gullick gave the estimate of 200 lines a day as the average for a medieval scribe. Although it is by no means a definitive piece of evidence – as Gullick himself points out, 'these [...] calculations may push the evidence too far' – it is the first such venture into calculating how fast scribes wrote, and as shown in Chapter 3, they provide an additional layer of information in relation to Matthew Paris.[31]

A paradigmatic example of an idiosyncratic scribal hand is that of the 'tremulous hand' of Worcester, which appears in the first half of the thirteenth century. It glosses at least twenty manuscripts, most of which are in Old English.[32] The peculiar nature of the script, whose idiosyncrasies have been explained by some sort of illness, and the nature of the text being written – glosses – led Franzen to describe the hand in order to put the glosses in chronological order and thus chart the scribe's process of learning Old English.[33] Franzen distinguishes seven different chronological layers in the 'tremulous hand' glosses, although she later considered this number to be too high.[34] Although the 'tremulous hand' of Worcester is unique in that the script points to a medical condition – as described below in relation to the work of Thorpe and Alti – the way in which it has been described is relevant, based mainly on aspect: shakiness, spacing, slant and disjointed appearance. The analysis of this hand also involved the description of characteristic letterforms in Middle English and Latin – as the scribe wrote in both languages-, including **a**, **c**, **d**, **e**, **f**, **t**, **p**, **r**, **s**, **v** and **þ**. Additionally, abbreviations are also taken into consideration, such as *contra*, q*ue*, don*ec*, *con*, p*ar*/p*er*, p*ro*, *er*/*re*, *ir*, *-e*/*-is*, *-et*, *-m*, -t*ione*, -u*it*, *-ur*, and *-us*.[35] A combination of medical science and palaeography, Thorpe and Alti's study of the thirteenth-century

[29] *Ibid.*
[30] M. Gullick, 'How Fast Did Scribes Write? Evidence from Romanesque Manuscripts', in P. Robinson (ed.), *The History of the Book in the West: a Library of Critical Essays* (Farnham, 2010), 227-46.
[31] Gullick, 'How Fast', 239.
[32] Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand*, 1.
[33] Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand*, 5.
[34] Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand*, 5, 15-9, 27-8; Thorpe an Alti, 'What Type of Tremor', 3124.
[35] Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand*, 6-8.

'tremulous hand' of Worcester as a means to identify a possible movement disorder also deals with the identification of this idiosyncratic hand through aspect and *ductus*. In this particular case, the palaeographic study of the 'tremulous hand' by Franzen, discussed above, was reassessed by Thorpe and Alti from a neurological perspective, searching for signs of a specific disorder based on changes to the general degree of deformation of the hand, to the downstrokes of **l**, **k**, **h**, and **p**, the general lack of feet, and changes to module and to the degree of 'shakiness' of the hand.[36] To achieve this, the hand's tremor was compared with a modern sample of handwriting of a person with a known type of tremor; and the characteristics of the 'tremulous hand' were compared with the effects of several diseases including Parkinson's disease and essential, dystonic and primary writing tremors.[37] The ageing of scribal hands, more generally understood than in the case of the 'tremulous hand' of Worcester, is now the object of a new project directed by Thorpe at Trinity College Dublin, 'Old hands: A Palaeographical Study of Ageing Medieval and Early Modern Scribes'. This project, funded through a Skłodowska-Curie COFUND Fellowship, will analyse medieval and early modern books and documents, with a focus on Irish sources, in order to understand changes to script as a result of ageing, and as a result from influence from others.

Horobin, Mooney, Mosser and Stubbs have worked extensively on the scribal identification of late-medieval English scribes, including the London Guildhall clerks and scribes involved in manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales.[38] They were involved in the AHRC-funded project based at the Universities of York, Oxford and Sheffield, 'Identification of the Scribes Responsible for Copying Major Works of Middle English Literature' between 2007 and 2011. The resulting website – *Late Medieval English Scribes* – is a catalogue that offers an image per scribal hand of medieval and early modern manuscripts in English of Chaucer, Langland, Gower, Hoccleve and Trevisa.[39] The palaeographic characterisation of each hand is given through images and descriptions of **a**, **d**, **g**, **h**, **r**, **s**, **w** and **y** across all scribal hands. Some of the scribes studied by Mooney and Mosser – like the 'hooked-**g**' scribes – are part of this online collection, which has been the starting point of a number of publications. Horobin, in 'The criteria for scribal attribution', confirmed that TCD MS 244 was written by a hand he named Scribe B, and identified this hand as that of

[36] Thorpe and Alty, 'What Type of Tremor' 3123.
[37] Thorpe and Alty, 'What Type of Tremor', 3127.
[38] Mooney, 'A Holograph Copy'; Mooney and Stubbs, *Scribes and the City;* Mooney and Mosser, 'More Manuscripts by the Beryn Scribe'; Mooney and Mosser, 'The Case of the Hooked-g Scribe(s)'.
[39] Http://www.medievalscribes.com, accessed 18 May 2018.

fourteenth-century London scribe Adam Pynkhurst.[40] In his discussion on scribal identification, Horobin favoured *ductus* and aspect over letterform description, as 'individual letterforms are less reliable criteria for the purposes of an identification because scribes often varied the selection of individual graphs they employed across the manuscripts they copied'.[41] Following this approach, Horobin comments on the hand's size, lateral compression and spacing, which are 'likely to remain constant' across different manuscripts.[42] Using a previous palaeographic description by Mooney, Horobin then proves the features used to identify Adam Pynkhurst as the scribe of TCD MS 244 are just a few of all known palaeographic features of Pynkhurst's hand, proving he was not responsible for the copying, based on – in slight contradiction – letterform descriptions.[43] However, the identification of the scribe of the Trinity College manuscript as Adam Pynkhurst as set out by Mooney and Horobin has been contested by Roberts and Warner, who provided arguments against the identification.[44] The main criticism to this identification is the use of similarity in language at the same level as handwriting as an identification feature, and that differences in different examples of Scribe B in TCD MS 244 are interpreted as scribal variation rather than different scribes.[45]

When identifying BL Royal MS 17 D XVIII as Thomas Hoccleve's autograph manuscript of *The Regiment of Princes*, Mooney summarises the characteristic letterforms in Hoccleve's hand: **A**, **g**, **y**, **h**, **d**, **N**, **v**, **w**. These are generally written idiosyncratically, mixing elements of Anglicana and secretary.[46] Mooney also used the form of punctuation – paraphs, *punctus* and *punctus elevatus* – and codicological features to identify the manuscript as Hoccleve's, such as *mise-en-page*, rubrics and ruling.[47] Lastly, text is also considered, in particular orthography and Hoccleve's own revisions to the text.[48] Mooney made some references to changes to Hoccleve's script due to age. As Hoccleve was a professional scribe, Mooney argues he wrote both in a formal and an informal hand, and that his script had 'suffered'

[40]Horobin, 'The Criteria for Scribal Attribution', 375.
[41] Horobin, 'The Criteria for Scribal Attribution', 372.
[42] Horobin, 'The Criteria for Scribal Attribution', 372-3.
[43] Horobin, 'The Criteria for Scribal Attribution', 375. The list of palaeographic features of Pynkhurst's hand is found in L. R. Mooney, 'Chaucer's Scribe', *Speculum*, 81 (2006), 97-138.
[44] J. Roberts, 'On Giving Scribe B a Name and a Clutch of London Manuscripts from c.1400', *Medium Aevum*, 80:2 (2011), 247-70; L. Warner, 'Scribes, Misattributed: Hoccleve and Pynkhurst', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 37 (2015), 55-100.
[45] Roberts, 'On Giving Scribe B a Name', 263-3; Warner, 'Scribes, Missatributed', 95-6.
[46] Mooney, 'A Holograph Copy', Appendix A.
[47] Mooney, 'A Holograph Copy', 275-8.
[48] Mooney, 'A Holograph Copy', 278-80.

because of Hoccleve's work as a clerk for many years and his deteriorating eyesight.[49] Hoccleve's later hand is characterised by its cursivity, large module, looseness and spread-out appearance.[50]

Mooney and Mosser's publications on scribes in manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales show an approach that comprises palaeographical, codicological and linguistic considerations. In order to identify the Beryn scribe in Princeton University MS 100 and BdL MS Rawlinson C 901, Mooney and Mosser searched for the scribe's characteristic letterforms, **g**, **a**, **w**, and **s**.[51] In 2016, their analysis of a group of manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* and *Troy Book*, and Trevisa's *Polychronicon*, attributed to a single hand – 'hooked-**g** scribe' – found two main hands and prompted discussion on a circle of scribes associated with the manuscripts.[52] The hands in Mooney and Mosser's manuscript corpus are described in terms of aspect and *ductus*, while the description also includes some letterforms (**d**, **f**, **g**, **s**, **S**, and **w**).[53] However, the distinction between the two 'hooked-*g*' scribes is finally framed in terms of linguistic variation. The scribes under the name 'hooked-*g* scribes', described by Mooney and Mosser and discussed above, have been identified as a group of between two and four scribes that share certain palaeographic characteristics across fourteen late fifteenth-century Middle English manuscripts.[54] The main differentiation between hands in this group is not palaeographical but linguistic, given their apparent similarity in aspect.[55] Linguistic differences allow Mooney and Mosser to suggest these possibly four scribes were all collaborators – as 'equal partners' - who possibly shared exemplars and stylistic features.[56] In comparison with the other case-studies mentioned above, the identification of the 'hooked-*g* scribes' as a group rests mostly in linguistic comparison, as their hands are palaeographically indistinguishable. Also recently, Mooney and Stubbs' monograph on the London Guildhall clerks bases scribal attribution on aspect and the description of a number of letterforms that varies

[49] Mooney, 'A Holograph Copy', 266.
[50] Mooney, 'A Holograph Copy', 267.
[51] Mooney and Mosser, 'More Manuscripts by the Beryn Scribe', 43-4.
[52] Mooney and Mosser, 'The Case of the Hooked-g Scribe(s)'. The manuscripts and the hands in those works had alredy been the object of an article by Doyle and Parkes (A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, 'The Production of Copies of the Canterbury Tales and the Confessio Amantis in the Early Fifteenth Century', in M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson (eds.), *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N. R. Ker* (London, 1978), 163-210)..
[53] Mooney and Mosser, 'The Case of the Hooked-g Scribe(s)', 134-8.
[54] Mooney and Mosser, 'The Case of the Hooked-*g* Scribe(s)', 134-5.
[55] Mooney and Mosser, 'The Case of the Hooked-*g* Scribe(s)', 138.
[56] Mooney and Mosser, 'The Case of the Hooked-*g* Scribe(s)', 148.

depending on the hand being described. These are **e**, **d**, **g**, **h**, **r**, **s** and **w**, while other aspects like *ductus* and ascenders and descenders are also considered.[57]

A recent project that successfully combined digital and traditional palaeographic methods is Stokes's monograph on English vernacular minuscule c.990-c.1035, which surveyed almost five hundred scribal hands – book-hands, glossing and scribbling hands - across all manuscripts that contain the script.[58] Methodologically, Stokes's project is based on DigiPal which, as described below, allows for the annotation of characteristic characters in manuscript digital images.[59] The analysed manuscripts are written in Old English, and only the script – vernacular minuscule - is described, which excludes capital letters and other aspects like *mise-en-page* or *signes de renvoi*.[60] Also, considering the project's large corpus – 178 manuscripts - Stokes adopted both a statistical discussion and the close observation of the most relevant examples.[61] In terms of scribal identification, Stokes described a number of features of specific allographs, like 'flat-topped', 'round' and 'teardrop' **a**, searching for common elements to scribal hands that might reveal evidence of localisation, and for evidence of change and continuity in the transition from Square minuscule to English vernacular minuscule.[62]

Another recent example of scholarship based on scribal identification is Bauch's article on the hand of Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV (1346-1378), which analyses several annotations and signatures containing the monarch's hand, providing some palaeographical remarks and linking the Emperor's activity with the early medieval tradition of royal signatures.[63] The hand of the King is identified as Semitextualis, according to Derolez's classification, which suggested to Bauch that Charles IV could have learned to write in Paris.[64] Apart from this classification, the linking made between samples of this hand is done by comparing images and by the use of certain diplomatic *formulae*, particularly the intitulation.[65] This recent example of a study of personal handwriting, although it is based upon the identification of script, does not provide explicit palaeographic arguments, as it is

[57] Mooney and Stubbs, *Scribes and the City*, 21-22.
[58] Stokes, *English Vernacular Minuscule*, 5, 164, 188.
[59] Below, 'Digital Humanities, Archetype and MParisPal'.
[60] Stokes, *English Vernacular Minuscule*, 6.
[61] Stokes, *English Vernacular Minuscule*, 3.
[62] Stokes, *English Vernacular Minuscule*, 79; The features described in Stokes's corpus can be found, for instance, in p. 87 (table 6). For a definition of the categories of description used in MParisPal and in this project, see below, 'Digital Humanities, Archetype and MParisPal'.
[63] Bauch, "*Et hec scripsi manu mea propria*", 28
[64] Bauch, "*Et hec scripsi manu mea propria*", 34.
[65] Bauch, "*Et hec scripsi manu mea propria*", 36-8.

more concerned with the tradition of lay rulers signing or writing in documents than with the description of the hand itself.[66]

The works discussed previously either provide descriptions of particular scribal hands or identify a known scribal hand in new manuscripts. Webber's *Scribes and scholars at Salisbury Cathedral* is an important work that analyses scribal collaboration by defining both the participation and handwriting of a large number of scribes in an equally large number of manuscripts from c.1075- c.1125. Firstly, the large number of scribal hands involved, and their patterns of collaboration are one of the arguments which Webber used to confirm that the manuscripts were produced at Salisbury.[67] She divided the scribes into two groups (Group I, with seventeen scribes that worked in more than two manuscripts, and other less prominent hands; and Group II, nineteen scribes), which are chronologically consecutive.[68] The distribution of the scribal hands within the manuscripts is given, as well as an analysis of the group in relation to handwriting, scribal practices, corrections and decoration. The groups are also described in relation to their patterns of collaboration, which reveal, in the case of Group I, the way manuscripts were produced rapidly around a core of more important scribes that were relieved by others.[69] The identification of some Group I scribes as responsible for participating in the copying of Exon Domesday add another layer of connections between the scribes and other projects.[70] The aspect of handwriting is described first – module, minims, serifs, lateral compression – while some letterforms and abbreviations receive individual attention (particularly **d**, **a**, **f**, **s**, tironian *et*, ampersand and some ligatures).[71] Overall, Webber effectively reconstructs the activity of two groups of scribes who produced a large quantity of manuscripts in a relatively short period of time, exploring their patterns of collaboration and their roles in the copying process.

Lastly, and although it is concerned with the study of the development of Humanistic script - and therefore it is far from the chronological frame of this project - De la Mare's *The handwriting of Italian Humanists* is relevant in its assessment of the ageing of script, and shows similarities with the study of the 'tremulous hand' of Worcester in the idiosyncrasy

[66] Bauch, "*Et hec scripsi manu mea propria*", 46-7.
[67] This is also supported by William of Malmesbury's mention of the acquisition of books at Salisbury during the episcopacy of Osmund (1078-99), with some of them being produced *in situ* (T. Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c.1075-c.1125* (Oxford, 1992), 10).
[68] Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, 11.
[69] Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, 17.
[70] Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, 16.
[71] Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, 18-9; 26-7.

of the analysed hands. The hands of eight well-known Humanists - including Petrarch, Boccaccio, Salutati and Niccoli – are described or re-described by De la Mare based on the observations of general aspect, characteristic letterforms, majuscule and minuscule, and idiosyncratic codicological features.[72] De la Mare's study of the hands of Italian Humanists acknowledges changes to script through time. In the case of Petrarch, there is a process of adjustment to his hand that corresponds to his development of a distinct personal hand.[73] When analysing the hand of Boccaccio, De la Mare identified an evolution from an irregular and large 'young' hand to a mature hand with more stable features and smaller module.[74] It is when discussing the hand of Niccoli that there are specific mentions of the ageing of the hand, as an increase in shakiness is described in late examples.[75] However, as discussed above, the palaeographic descriptions are not consistent across authors, so mentions to the ageing of the script are rare and usually framed in the overall discussion on the development of the Humanistic script.

Most of the analyses of individual scribal hands described above have an element in common: the description of characteristic letterforms and features, and of other palaeographical elements such as ascenders, descenders, slant and module. There is a difference between the analysis of Latin and English scribal hands in terms of which letterforms are analysed, but generally **a**, **g** and **s** are commonly discussed by scholars, with other letterforms like **d**, **e**, **f**, **r** and **s** also being described often. The observation of aspect and *ductus* is mostly used as a means of identification in conjunction with the description of characteristic letterforms, yet particularly in Ker and Vaughan and, at least theoretically, in Horobin's controversial work, they are used as the primary tool for scribal identification. Abbreviation and punctuation are unequally used as a scribal identification feature: tironian *notae* and the general sign of abbreviation are described by both Ker and Vaughan, and punctuation is only mentioned by Mooney (*punctus* and *punctus elevatus*). In the description of Matthew Paris's hand and of the hands of his scribal collaborators the full alphabet (in the case of Matthew Paris) and a selection of letterforms in the case of the collaborators are described (caroline **a**, round **a**, **b**, **d**, **e**, **g**, **h**, round **s** and vertical **s**), together with some abbreviations (tironian *et*, *est* and *con*, and -b*us*) punctuation (*punctus*, *punctus elevatus* and

[72] Some of these hands had already been described before, particularly in the case of Petrarch (A. Petrucci, *La scrittura di Francesco Petrarca* (Vatican City, 1967)).
[73] De la Mare, *The Handwriting*, 7-9.
[74] De la Mare, *The Handwriting*, 21-2.
[75] De la Mare, *The Handwriting*, 51.

punctus interrogativus) and *signes de renvoi*.[76] The description of these letterforms, abbreviations and punctuation is complemented by observations of aspect and *ductus*.

The evolution of scribal hands through time is generally understood as a process of deterioration, or even cursivisation, as in the case of Thomas Hoccleve. This process of deformation is evidenced through changes to aspect and module - the script appears larger, more disjointed, shakier, more irregular and more morphologically variable - and through specific changes to letterforms, like larger ascenders, more cursive characters and absence of feet. The enlargement of the script is generally associated with loss of eyesight, whilst 'shakiness' – which ranges between an uneven appearance and a distorting tremor – is linked to old age in general, or to specific related disorders. The changes to Paris's script through time – which are the object of sections 3.b and 3.c below – are analysed in this project with a clear premise: not to assume that handwriting evolves in a linear manner. Palaeographic elements that change across the corpus can do so in a number of ways, and thus the process of creating a chronology of Paris's hand and manuscripts must be approached without preconceived ideas of cursivity and deterioration. In this respect, Vaughan analysed Paris's script assuming 'there must be a development' in his hand, identifying some samples of Paris's hand in BL Cotton MS Nero D I as those 'of a sick old man within a few months of his death'.[77] Although that is indeed a possibility, the analysis of Paris's script here presented does not adopt these assumptions. Considering Paris's handwriting displays, as we shall see below, a variable level of cursivity throughout all of his manuscripts, avoiding the temptation to analyse Paris's hand from a purely evolutionary perspective is one of the key methodological elements of the creation of a chronology of manuscripts. The analysis of the changes to Paris's script through time is carried out in two parts, which correspond to 3.b and 3.c. Firstly, the digital annotations of Paris's hand – the nature of which is described below – are analysed quantitatively in order to find patterns of change between the manuscripts in the corpus. Secondly, this quantitative data is analysed and visualised in order to find trends and patterns of change, with the aim of producing a chronology of the manuscripts in the corpus that is based on palaeographical evidence.[78]

[76] See chapters 3.a The hand of Matthew Paris; and 4.a Description of scribal hands.
[77] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 388.
[78] For a definition of the digital and quantitative methods used in this project, see below ('Digital Humanities, Archetype and MParisPal' and 'Quantitative methods').

The present methodological survey into the identification of scribal hands, the ageing of script and scribal collaboration has provided an array of possibilities, the common ground between different works across different periods, and the unequal representation of scribal collaboration in the scholarly debate. The preference for linguistic analysis in Middle English manuscripts and for palaeographic analysis in Latin manuscripts, the weight of aspect as a differentiating palaeographic feature, the description of characteristic letterforms to characterise a hand, and the possibilities which studies of scribal collaboration bring to reconstruct scribal activity and the development of book collections are the main common threads of the above discussion. The methodology applied to the analysis of the hands of Matthew Paris and his scribal collaborators can be divided, as this section has been, into three main threads. From the perspective of description of the hand of Matthew Paris (3.a), the full alphabet is described, with a description of aspect, *ductus* and characteristic scribal practices. For the description of the hands of Paris's collaborators (4.a), a selection of seventeen letterforms, punctuation and abbreviations are described, as mentioned above (caroline **a**, round **a**, **b**, **d**, **e**, **g**, **h**, round **s**, vertical **s,** tironian *et*, *est* and *con*, -b*us, punctus*, *punctus elevatus* and *punctus interrogativus* and *signes de renvoi*), together with observations on aspect, *ductus* and other features of interest. In order to understand the changes to Paris's hand through time, the seventeen characters, abbreviations and punctuation that are described for the scribal collaborators are analysed quantitatively (3.b) and the results are interpreted searching for patterns of change (3.c). Lastly, in order to analyse scribal collaboration in the manuscripts containing Paris's hand in the corpus (4.c), the relative chronology of Paris's manuscripts produced in 3.c is used to understand the patterns of collaboration amongst scribes and the possible relationship between the texts being copied and the number of collaborators. This primary methodological approach, which aims to adopt practices from previous scholarship and adapt them to the special context of Paris's manuscripts, is aided by Digital Humanities and quantitative methods, thus improving and increasing the amount of palaeographic data and the possibilities for the visualisation of results.

Digital Humanities, Archetype and MParisPal

Technology has been fundamental to palaeography from the moment the latter was first conceived as a discipline at the end of the seventeenth century.[79] The evolution of printing, which produced more accurate copies at a lower cost, allowed Mabillon, for instance, to classify, describe and provide plates of, Latin scripts; and others like Maffei to express their criticisms.[80] The nineteenth century brought photography, which allowed the reproduction of manuscripts as facsimiles. Photography evolved quickly and allowed for the first printed facsimiles to be published in the 1850s in Austria. The evolution of photography and computing led to the appearance and refinement of digital images, by far the most readily available and editable source of reproductions of manuscripts ever created, and a clear consequence of the notion of science as based on 'objective images' that was born in the final decades of the nineteenth century.[81] The advent of digital images also brought a greater freedom of edition and a multiplicity of formats that prompted the questioning of their reliability, as colour and image quality, for instance, can change the likeness of the resulting image, compromising its truthfulness.[82] And now, digital frameworks and tools, the use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) and digital mapping, among other technologies, are at the forefront of medieval studies and palaeographical research, integrating digitisation with digital annotation, automated identification, spatial representation and soundscapes.[83] The technological revolution of the past fifty years has seen the appearance and development of the Digital Humanities, which were intertwined from its early stages with medieval studies, and have only been only recently joined by Digital Palaeography.

Digital Humanities is a term that comprises several fields of study and technological development in the Humanities. The field of medieval studies was pioneering in the use of digital tools, with projects like Roberto Busas's '*Index Thomisticus*' being developed in the early days of computing in the 1960s and 70s.[84] From then, text-based initiatives started to appear and spread until the development of digital imaging allowed for the use of

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[79] M. Aussems and A. Brink, 'Digital Palaeography', in M. Rehbein, P. Sahle, T. Schaßan (eds.), *Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age* (Norderstedt, 2009), 293-308.
[80] J. Mabillon, *De Re Diplomatica Libri VI ed. 2 ab ipso auctores recognita emendata et aucta* (Paris, 1709), 343-460; S. Maffei, *Istoria Diplomatica* (Mantua, 1727); M. Stansbury, 'The Computer and the Classification of Script', in M. Rehbein, P. Sahle, T. Schaßan (eds.), *Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age* (Norderstedt, 2009), 237-249, 244.
[81] L. Daston and P. Galison, 'The Image of Objectivity', *Representations*, 40 (1992), 81-128, 81.
[82] M. Terras, *Digital Images for the Information Professional* (Aldershot, 2008) 185-204.
[83] For an overview of the latest trends in Digital Medieval Studies, see D. J. Birnbaum *et al.*, 'The Digital Middle Ages: An Introduction', *The Digital Middle Ages: a Speculum Supplement, Speculum*, 92 (2017), S1-S38.
[84] Birnbaum *et al.*, 'The Digital Middle Ages', S1-S2.

digitisations, widening the possibilities of the field and also creating a rift between the object of study - the manuscript - and its digital representation – its digitisation.[85] Digital text encoding and optical character recognition have also been major milestones in the development of the digital humanities. Digital encoding is at the core of digital editing, with the XML-based TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) being the most used initiative in the field. On the other hand, OCR (Optical Character Recognition) allows for the possibility of the transcription of an image into text, although its degree of accuracy and reliability is still in development. Palaeography is related to digital humanities as it has used digital tools for the development of automated transcription or script identification software and for creating databases of palaeographical information. As a discipline, digital palaeography is fairly new: the term was first used to describe it as a separate discipline only in 2005, and its purpose was defined then as 'to show how digital representation may help to describe a certain graphic style of handwriting, and how it may help in the comparison of different scripts that are geographically and chronologically related'.[86] As the description of several digital palaeography projects below shows, and the nature of the present project, this first definition has been largely superseded.

The above definition shows a change in the way digital palaeography is conceived in relation to its traditional counterpart. From the first attempts at classifying scripts, one of the aims of traditional palaeography has been establishing models, 'perfect' and definite alphabets for a given script that could be compared against any manuscript or document. An important trend in traditional palaeography - from Mabillon to Millares-Carlo or Bischoff - has followed the trend of creating alphabets and catalogues of typical abbreviations, which centred part of the palaeographic debate on nomenclature.[87] This trend has been challenged, among others, by Petrucci, Parkes, Gullick or Webber, who followed a new wave started by Mallon, an evolutionary approach that emphasises change in script rather than canonisation.[88] However, Digital Palaeography projects have not generally follow this evolutionary approach, which has prompted criticism from as early as

[85] J. Flanders and F. Jannidis, 'Data Modeling', in S. Schreibman, R. Siemens and J. Unsworth (eds.), *A New Companion to Digital Humanities* (Chichester, 2016), 229-37; S. Hockey, 'A History of Humanities Computing', in S. Schreibman, R. Siemens and J. Unsworth (eds.), *A Companion to Digital Humanities* (Oxford, 2007), 3-19, 7-9.

[86] A. Ciula, 'Digital Palaeography: Using the Digital Representation of Medieval Script to Support Palaeographic Analysis', *Digital Medievalist*, 1 (2005). The term 'Digital Palaeography' appears for the first time in P. Hirtle, 'Editorial', *D-Lib Magazine*, 6:4 (2000), although in a different context, as it was coined to refer to a future discipline that would help 'read' digital files in obsolete formats.

[87] Stansbury, 'The Computer and the Classification of Script', 244.

[88] J. Mallon, *Paléographie romaine* (Madrid, 1952); 'Le problème de l'évolution de la lettre', *Les arts et les techniques graphiques*, 59 (1937), 25-30.

2009, a point which still stands nearly ten years later.[89] Additionally, there has been a fair amount of criticism for the use of quantitative and digital methods.[90] Bischoff's well known prediction, that palaeography would become an 'art of measuring', voiced the concern of many who had firstly reacted to works such as Gilissen's *L'expertise des écritures médiévales*, discussed below.[91] Nevertheless, digital palaeography – influenced by the development of forensic handwriting identification - is today a dynamic discipline based on the principle that digital methods, quantitative and qualitative, are advantageous to ensure greater rigour in palaeography research.[92]

As mentioned above, digital palaeography projects have revolved around two main objectives, automation and annotation. The automatic transcription or identification of medieval handwriting has been and still is the objective of several projects with various degrees of success, and this disparity of results temporarily moved the focus away from automation and towards annotation and representation, enhancing traditional methods rather than substituting them.[93] Early projects in Digital Palaeography worked from a computational perspective, that is, developing software that would relate one script to another, after the user selects the images to be analysed.[94] However, the tension between human interaction - from models (maps, diagrams) to underlying assumptions - and its effect in the reliability of the results has sparked some debate, and projects now are centred on either automation or annotation, or in some cases a certain middle ground.[95]

In general terms, it is near-impossible today to provide a reliable computer technology capable of recognising characters in a medieval manuscript, except for very specific types of documents for which technology has been developed. So how is it possible to conjugate Palaeography and computer science in a satisfactory way for both? Apart from the 'ground truth' problem – the samples by which the accuracy of computer results is validated or not

[89] Stansbury, 'The Computer and the Classification of Script', 246-8.
[90] S. Brookes *et al.*, 'The DigiPal Project for European Scripts and Decoration', in A. Conti, O. da Rold and P. Shaw (eds.), *Writing Europe, 500-1450: Text and Contexts. Essays and Studies* 68 (2015), 25-58.; 25-6.
[91] B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages.* Trans. D. Ganz and D. Ó Cróinín (Cambridge, 1990), 19.
[92] On the usefulness of quantitative methods, A. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2003), 8.
[93] T. Hassner *et al.*, 'Computation and Palaeography: Potentials and Limits', *Dagstuhl Manifestos*, 2:1 (2012), 14-35.
[94] P. A. Stokes, 'Computing and Palaeography in Theory' (*forthcoming*).
[95] *Ibid.;* M. Kestemont et al., 'Artificial Palaeography: Computational Approaches to Identifying Script Types in Medieval Manuscripts', *The Digital Middle Ages: a Speculum Supplement, Speculum*, 92 (2017) S86-S109; Birnbaum *et al.*, 'The Digital Middle Ages'.

– there are other issues to be considered.[96] As Peter Stokes advances, another important challenge is how to understand and filter the results given by the computer, ensuring they are based on the chosen features, but not on others like photographic characteristics or the conditions in which parchment is preserved.[97] Additionally, those results need to be intelligible to the palaeographer, who will then decide to continue using the tool, or just keep using traditional methods. The Dagstuhl Perspectives Workshop (2012) aptly summarised the most pressing challenges for digital palaeography, among which the need of sharing the information – results and methodology – and the central role of the palaeographer were prominent.[98] Human interaction, the intelligibility of the method and results and the dissemination of results and methodology are some of the main issues of digital palaeography today, although these are by no means the only ones being considered.[99] There are several projects that have attempted script identification or have approached the issue of automation in meaningful ways. Although some of them are no longer active, they serve as examples of the challenges of digital palaeography and an evaluation of their success and contribution to the field. This overview will start with *Hand Analyser*, and continue with *Quill*, *Graphoskop*, ORIFLAMMS, HIMANIS and the CLaMM competition.

Hand Analyser was released in 2008 with the aim of presenting the palaeographer with a series of measurements and features of a given script.[100] Although it tried to avoid a 'black box' situation – where the computer is given data and results are produced without any intervention or understanding of the process – it became one, as the way the results were presented was not generally clear to scholars in the Humanities.[101] This led not only to a scarce distribution of the tool, but also to a general 'feeling of perplexity' from palaeographers.[102] As Peter Stokes puts it, 'we as medievalists in general and palaeographers

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[96] *Ibid.*
[97] *Ibid.*
[98] Hassner *et al.*, 'Computation and Palaeography', 30-1.
[99] In the Dagstuhl Seminar of 2014, for instance, one of the main objectives outlined was 'to develop "new machines", i. e. efficient solutions for palaeographic tasks, and to provide scholars with quantitative evidence towards palaeographical arguments, even beyond the reading of "old texts" (ancient, medieval and early modern documents), which is of interest to the industry, to the wider public, and to the broad community of genealogists' (T. Hassner, R. Sablatnig, D. Stutzmann and S. Tarte (eds.), 'Digital Palaeography: New Machines and Old Texts', *Report from Dagstuhl Seminar 14302* (Wadern, 2014), 112-134, 112-3).
[100] Stokes, 'Computing and Palaeography in Theory' *(forthcoming)*; 'Computer-aided Palaeography, Present and Future' 'Palaeography and Image-Processing: Some Solutions and Problems', *Digital Medievalist*, 3 (2007).
[101] The negative feedback received by the developers of Hand Analyser (accompanied by a low number of downloads) showed scholars experienced difficulties in understanding the results provided by the software (Stokes, 'Computing and Palaeography in Theory' *(forthcoming)).*
[102] Stokes, 'Computing and Palaeography in Theory' *(forthcoming).*

in particular cannot be expected to understand the intricacies of postgraduate-level mathematics and computer science'.[103] The complexity of the results offered by *Hand Analyser* made it unsuitable for academic purposes, as it assumed a level of technical expertise that was ultimately not realistic.

Quill Dynamics Feature was developed by the Artificial Intelligence department at the University of Groningen through the TRIGRAPH project in 2009. This project involved the application of the Intelligent Writer Identification System (GIWIS) to medieval handwriting. Originally, this system was devised more as an aid for the forensic identification of contemporary handwriting, and it could not be used with medieval handwriting due to the variety of conditions of parchment and also to variances in the quality of the digital images. This compelled Axel Brink, based at the University of Groningen, to adapt *Quill* to processing images from medieval manuscripts.[104]

Quill measured 'the relation between the local direction and width of the ink traces', which in practice led to highly complex charts of inclination angles, height of ascenders, and finally same-group occurrences when clustering several documents together.[105] The aim of all this information was to confirm, from a mathematical point of view, the difference between scribal hands, but there were some limitations: first, the example by which *Quill* was tested was a single manuscript (the 'Queen's Manuscript', BL Harley 4431), which was rather well preserved. The app used digital images taken with the same equipment and under the same conditions of lightning and resolution, with the aim of having a homogeneous corpus of images and therefore 'more objective' starting materials. Secondly, the measurements made were on inclination angles and height of ascenders, which are not the only features to be taken into consideration when distinguishing between hands. Therefore, the resulting data had to be re-analysed with traditional methods just to be able to trust *Quill*'s outcomes, which were not conclusive. And even though *Quill* has been used to analyse Dutch charters from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, its success is only due to the palaeographers that validated or denied the results of the scribal identification.[106] Therefore, although the measurements were accurate and useful to palaeographers and

[103] P. A. Stokes, 'Computer-aided Palaeography, Present and Future', in M. Rehbein, P. Sahle, T. Schßan (eds.), *Codicology and Palaoegraphy in the Digital Age* (Norderstedt, 2009), 309-338, 322.
[104] J. Smit, 'The Death of the Palaeographer? Experiences with the Groningen Intelligent Writer Identification System (GIWIS)'', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 57 (2011), 413-25, 417.
[105] Aussems and Brink, 'Digital Palaeography', 298.
[106] Smit, 'The Death of the Palaeographer?', 420.

scribal hands were identified automatically, these identifications were done not using enough elements of comparison, meaning human intervention was needed to complete the analysis.

Graphoskop is a plugin to an existing open-source software, *ImageJ*, which was devised in 2009 by Maria Gurrado and developed by Giancarlo Lestingi for the École des Chartes.[107] The main functionality of *Graphoskop* was that it allowed palaeographers to take measurements of manuscript images and presented them as quantitative data.[108] The software that it complements, *ImageJ*, is designed for image processing, was created at the National Institutes of Health in the US, and supports a large number of image formats and allows for the analysis of images and the processing of several images simultaneously.[109] Based on the possibilities *ImageJ* offers, *Graphoskop* allows for measuring, for instance, the height of given letterform, the distance between words, the angle of writing and the angle of slant, amongst other possibilities. A collection of these measurements can then be interpreted by calculating average and mode measurements, and standard deviation.[110] Another calculation *Graphoskop* was created for is ROI (Region of Interest), which is the proportion of black and white pixels once an image is binarized, with the aim of studying the density of script.[111] This plugin was created in the context of research into cursive bookhands of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and it was conceived not as just an automated tool, but as a support to palaeographic expertise.[112]

ORIFLAMMS (Ontology Research, Image Features, Letterform Analysis on Multilingual Medieval Scripts) was a multinational project that ran between 2013 and 2016, and it was based upon the results of GRAPHEM (Grapheme-based Retrieval and Analysis for Palaeographic Expertise of Medieval Manuscripts), which ran between 2008 and 2011.[113] It worked on automated letter-form identification with the overall aim of studying the evolution of script throughout the Middle Ages, focusing on the relationship between script variation, context and language. According to the project's final results – published

[107] Gurrado, 'Graphoskop, un strumento informatico per l'analisi paleographica quantitativa', in M. Rehbein, P. Sahle, T. Schßan (eds.), *Codicology and Palaoegraphy in the Digital Age* (Norderstedt, 2009), 251-59, 252.
[108] *Ibid.*
[109] https://imagej.nih.gov/ij/index.html, accessed 20 May 2018.
[110] Gurrado, 'Graphoskop, un strumento informatico', 253.
[111] *Ibid.*
[112] Gurrado, 'Graphoskop, un strumento informatico', 259.
[113] https://f.hypotheses.org/wp-content/blogs.dir/1267/files/2017/04/Oriflamms-Compte-rendu-final.pdf, accessed 1 June 2018. Final report of ORIFLAMMS. Also http://oriflamms.hypotheses.org/#_englishversion provides a shorter report in English, accessed 1 June 2018.

in 2017 – the objectives of establishing a reference corpus for characters has been largely successful. It applied both 'learning-free' digital methods and principles of Artificial Intelligence (AI) through which the machine learned how to associate between pixel configurations and letterforms, but finally required human output to validate the accuracy of the results.[114] So, on the one hand, the ORIFLAMMS project has created a corpus of images and associated data that can serve as ground-truths for future projects. On the other hand, several outputs – relating to word spacing, text-image alignment and methodology – have been published. However, it must be noted that even when the computer can classify certain letter forms, produce a transcription or perform measurements, the results would be incomprehensible most of the time for non-initiated scholars, as the classification would be made on a rather complex mathematical scale with several highly technical parameters taken into consideration.

The HIMANIS project (Historical Manuscript Indexing for user-controlled search), another international endeavour that included the CNRS, the Universitat Politècnica de València and Groningen University, has created a searchable database of French thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth-century royal charters from the 'Trésor des Chartes'.[115] Running from 2015 to 2017, its main aim was to create a searchable database that included keywords that the system would recognise, making it easier to search within the images.[116] The result is a beta interface that gives access to the corpus, which is being enlarged with more sources and more functionalities, including the possibility of computer-assisted distinction between scribal hands.[117] In this case, the focus of the project was on the relationship between text and image, trying to provide users with a search engine that can question the text, although within a set number of key words.

In 2016, as part of the Fifteenth International Conference on Frontiers in Handwriting Recognition there was a shared task or competition to create software that classifies script, using a given data set, which received the name 'CLaMM: Competition on the Classification of Medieval Handwritings in Latin Script'.[118] The data set contained samples from twelve scripts (including uncial, half-uncial, caroline minuscule, different varieties of

[114] *Ibid.*
[115] http://www.himanis.org, accessed 1 June 2018.
[116] Research aims: https://www.irht.cnrs.fr/fr/recherche/les-programmes-de-recherche/himanis, accessed 1 June 2018.
[117] Summary of HIMANIS's research outcomes: https://himanis.hypotheses.org, accessed 1 June 2018.
[118] Kestemont *et al.*, 'Artificial Palaeography', S88; CFHR2016 Competition on the Classification of Medieval Handwritings in Latin Script': http://clamm.irht.cnrs.fr, accessed 1 June 2018.

Gothic scripts and humanistic script), and the challenge of reaching automatic script identification was tackled adopting a computer-vision approach and neural networks.[119] In short, a computer-vision approach implies 'teaching' the machine what to look for in an image – not actual words, but graphic patterns - so it can be identified and assigned to a category automatically. Neural networks are used in AI in deep-representation learning, where layers of 'neurons' – information units – allow the system to confirm or reject different possibilities until a conclusion is reached, as it is used for example in facial recognition.[120] The result of the use of both methods revealed that automatic script identification worked to higher accuracy on those scripts different to the human eye, but is less trustworthy with variants of the same script (such as the different types of Gothic scripts). Overall, it is a step forward in the application of AI to script detection.[121]

These examples should not serve as a comprehensive listing of all projects in digital palaeography, but as an exemplification of the limitations and advancements of the discipline in the last decade. The increasing use of AI in digital palaeography projects increase the chances of successful identification of scripts, although issues like terminology and the samples by which the computer learns (ground truth) still hinder progress. Pattern recognition has helped enhance the accessibility of databases of digitised documents, while there is a more general consensus that interfaces and results should be more accessible and understandable to users. All in all, the 'palaeographic eye', understood as an 'aesthetic understanding' of forms that derives from expertise and experience, remains the driving force behind the latest digital projects, whether by placing it at their centre – as DigiPal, below – or by questioning its objectivity – as the CLaMMS competition shows in relation to terminology.[122] Digital palaeography has evolved steadily in the last ten years, improving our access to resources and aiding us when dealing with manuscripts and when teaching the discipline.[123] As Palaeography itself, its digital counterpart has encountered issues that still need to be solved satisfactorily, but it is learning to overcome difficulties and to make itself more useful and accessible to the academic community.[124]

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[119] Kestemont *et al.*, 'Artificial Palaeography', S88.
[120] Kestemont *et al.*, 'Artificial Palaeography', S89.
[121] Kestemont *et al.*, 'Artificial Palaeography', S99-S104.
[122] Mallon, *Paléographie romaine*; 22 L. Gilissen, *L'expertise des écritures médiévales. Recherche d'une méthode avec application à un manuscrit du XIe siècle: Le Lectionnaire de Lobbes, Codex Bruxellensis 18018* (Ghent, 1973), 15; J. Koss, 'On the Limits of Empathy', *The Art Bulletin*, 88:1 (2006), 139-57, 139-40.
[123] P. A. Stokes, 'Teaching Manuscripts in the Digital Age', in F. Fischer, C. Fritze and G. Vogeler (eds.), *Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age 2* (Norderstedt, 2010), 229-45, 230.
[124] Brookes *et al.,* 'The DigiPal Project for European Scripts and Decoration', 26.

As mentioned above, one of the most recent tendencies in the field of digital palaeography is annotation as a combination between digital tools and palaeographic expertise. Placing the palaeographer at the centre of the digital processing of manuscript images moves away from attempts at the automation of identification or transcription, and focuses more on accessibility, intuitiveness and overall support of palaeographical research. The most successful project using digital annotation as its core purpose is DigiPal. The 'Digital Resource and Database for Palaeography, Manuscript Studies and Diplomatic' was developed at King's College London between 2010 and 2014, funded by the European Research Council, under the direction of Peter Stokes. It is described as a 'web-based framework for the study of script in its manuscript or diplomatic context', based on three key components: an online framework, the application of the framework to case studies, and the analysis of the results in context.[125] The DigiPal corpus originally included late-tenth and eleventh-century writing in English. The study of this script, which changes greatly in time, has shed light on its morphologic evolution and on the variations among scribal hands. Almost 1500 hands have been distinguished – or its earlier identifications confirmed - from the eleventh century. It has been possible to reach some results regarding production centres, influences and the general process of merging of the vernacular and the Anglo-Caroline minuscule used for Latin texts.[126] In total, more than 1600 manuscripts and charters have been used to reach these results.

One of the key characteristics of DigiPal is the possibility of applying the framework to different case studies. Its flexibility has allowed researchers to adapt the original project to a variety of purposes. Some of the projects that use the DigiPal framework are: ScandiPal, on Scandinavian manuscripts; SephardiPal, for late medieval Sephardic manuscripts and decoration; VisigothicPal, for Visigothic manuscripts held at the British Library; the 'EXON: The Conqueror's Commissioners' project on Domesday Book and the 'Models of Authority' project on twelfth and thirteenth century Scottish charters.[127] This flexibility was one of the reasons DigiPal received in 2017 the first Medieval Academy Digital Humanities Prize, as it provides a 'generalized framework for the online presentation of palaeographical

[125] P. A. Stokes and S. Brookes, 'DigiPal: Digital Resource and Database for Palaeography, Manuscripts and Diplomatic', poster presented at Digital Diplomatics, 29th September - 1st October 2011, Naples; Stokes, 'DigiPal and English Vernacular Minuscule' *(forthcoming article)*.
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] P. A. Stokes *et al.,* 'The Models of Authority Project: Extending the DigiPal Framework for Script and Decoration', in M. Eder and J. Rybicki *DH2016 Book of Abstracts* (Kraków, 2016), 896-99.

materials'.[128] One of the main aims of the creation of DigiPal from the beginning was the possibility of offering a basic framework that could be applied to any Digital Humanities project that required a consistent analysis of features, whether in manuscripts or other formats. In late 2017 the basic framework of DigiPal – which had been used for the projects mentioned above and for the present thesis - was rebranded as Archetype, and it was made available to download, with the possibility of adding different modules in order to customise the framework.[129] The different improvements and new modules developed for specific offshoot projects of Archetype are now available as modules of a generic, downloadable platform.

The main idea that lies behind Archetype is the aim to develop a methodology for the description of handwriting using 'conceptual modelling and semantic labels that palaeographers could understand'.[130] It places the user at the centre of the process, who selects the characters to describe and adds descriptors to them, while keeping those selected characters in their manuscript context. The customisation of terminology in Archetype helps to avoids, in Stokes's words, 'the well-known problems of palaeographical terminology', as terminology is kept constant.[131] The process of description is done at different levels, allowing for the customisation of each of them while keeping the overall structure stable. These levels of description allow the user to go from general aspects (characters) to parts of those characters (components) to particular characteristics (features). These levels are:[132]

- *Ontograph:* Each letter (**a**, **b**, **c**), abbreviation or punctuation (*punctus*, *punctus elevatus*). As an example, the ontograph of **a** includes **A** and **a**. The distinction between the two types of **a** is done at character level.
- *Character:* Each type of letterform (each type within ontographs), tironian '*nota*' and punctuation (i.e. **A**, **a**, tironian *et*, *punctus*, etc.).
- *Allograph:* The different variants of a character. Therefore, character '**a**' can be described with allographs 'insular', 'Caroline', etc.

[128] The Medieval Academy Blog: http://www.themedievalacademyblog.org/maa-blog-inaugural-medieval-academy-digital-humanities-prize/.
[129] http://archetype.ink.
[130] P. A. Stokes, 'Scribal Attribution across Multiple Scripts: A Digitally Aided Approach', *The Digital Middle Ages: a Speculum Supplement, Speculum*, 92 (2017), S65-S85., S68.
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] Stokes, 'Describing Handwriting', I-VI, http://www.digipal.eu/blog/category/blog/?page=8, accssed 26 May 2018; Stokes, 'Modelling Medieval Handwriting: A New Approach to Digital Palaeography', in J. C. Meister (ed.), *DH2012 Book of Abstracts* (Hamburg, 2012), 382-4, 383.

- *Idiograph:* The way or ways in which a given scribe writes an allograph, that is, variation within a single hand.
- *Graph:* A single instance of a given sign written on the page.
- *Component:* Units that make up characters or allographs. For example, **a** has the components 'head', 'back', and 'lobe'.
- *Features:* The characteristics of every component (i.e. long, short, forked, wedged).
- *Scribal hand:* the final level of description, which includes all the previous ones and defines a certain scribe's hand.

As an example, if we are describing the character **a**, it can have different allographs, like Insular or Caroline, and several variants within the same scribe or idiographs (type 1, type 2, etc.). This **a** has different parts or components that can be described individually (features): Its head can be curved or above minim-height, as well as its back can be footed or non-footed. When all these characteristics are found in the work of a single hand, they are grouped as a scribal hand.

The intention behind these concepts is to create a common ground, so that a certain feature of a certain character can be identified, and searched for, across a number of manuscripts. The palaeographer can search within all the categories described above, being also able to mix them. Following the example of character **a**, a search can be done just for the character itself – all **a** across all images -, for an allograph – 'insular **a**', 'caroline **a**' -, and for a component and features – 'insular **a** with curved head', 'caroline **a** with above-minim height head'. More general searches can also be done: for example, '**a** with above-minim height head', or 'above-minim height head' across all characters.[133] The terminology used by the palaeographer is project-specific, adapting to the main categories listed and described above, thus providing a specific vocabulary for the given 'syntax'.[134] The process by which the descriptors are linked to the selected graph is the annotation: first the allograph is selected from a drop-down ('caroline **a**', '**g**', '*punctus*'), then a box is drawn directly on the manuscript image around the graph; and lastly (and optionally) the features of each component are selected. Once saved, the annotation – both the image and the descriptors – are stored in the system and can be retrieved through searches.

[133] Stokes, 'Modelling Medieval Handwriting', 383-4.
[134] Stokes, 'Scribal Attribution', S68.

The use of digital methods in this project is essential for two reasons: first, the need to analyse and compare scribal hands from ten different manuscripts simultaneously; and second, the immediacy of these descriptions and comparisons through contextualised annotations. Despite the relative success of various projects in digital palaeography that have created applicable tools, it is Archetype that allows for a greater level of customisation, and for an absolute control of the framework by the palaeographer. From the images to the terminology to the actual annotation, I have been in charge every step of the way, and that has allowed me to shape the project in a much more accurate and personal way. However, my approach to this tool has been sceptical. VisigothicPal – developed by Ainoa Castro simultaneously to MParisPal – started with a similar scepticism, aiming to test the 'viability and benefits of computerised semi-automated analysis', with promising results in analysing digitised Visigothic manuscripts at the British Library.[135] In developing a new and more comprehensive description of Matthew Paris's hand, and distinguishing and describing scribal hands across a corpus of ten manuscripts containing Paris's hand I have found in Archetype a powerful tool. However, using such a platform also entails some difficulties, particularly in relation to image acquisition, description and terminology. Agreeing on a working terminology for the digital platform is not only time-consuming but also extremely complicated given the lack of a standard nomenclature.[136] Additionally, uploading digital images requires a preliminary identification of scribal hands that was carried out individually, meaning each image had to be uploaded and classified separately. Nevertheless, the benefits far outweigh the difficulties, and MParisPal has proved vital for the storage, analysis and representation of manuscript images and scribal hands.

The overview of the field of Digital Palaeography and the introduction to the Archetype framework above serve three purposes: to define how the field came to be and what are its main current trends; to highlight the issues and achievements of previous projects in the field; and to provide a theoretical background to Archetype and its suitability for this project. Given the specific palaeographic approach to this project – the description of Matthew Paris's hand, the changes to Paris's hand through time and the description and analysis of the hands of his scribal collaborators, as defined above – and the flexibility of

[135] A. Castro Correa, 'VisigothicPal: project ViGOTHIC', *Littera Visigothica* (October 2015), http://litteravisigothica.com/visigothicpal-project-vigothic, accessed 20 May 2018.
[136] Final Report of the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme, Marie Sklodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 656298 (2015-2017), project ViGothic.

the Archetype framework, the initial considerations with regards to the use of a digital tool are centred around the creation of a specific terminology, the acquisition of digital images and the specific ways in which digital images are annotated.

The version of Archetype devised for this project is named MParisPal. As mentioned above, the flexibility of the framework allowed me to customise it and adapt it to my research goals.[137] However, the first two aspects to work through before actually describing characters on MParisPal - annotating - are the creation of a working terminology and the selection and acquisition of digital images. The strongest reservation when using the above categories to describe letterforms, abbreviation and punctuation is the validity of the descriptors *per se.* As Derolez argues, the usual descriptions of letterforms tend to be unsatisfactory because they are deeply subjective.[138] All terms used to describe the parts or characteristics of letter forms are necessarily subject to the palaeographer's judgement.[139] It is because of this subjectivity that there is such disparity in the way scripts are described, both in their general aspect and morphology. The Comité Internationale de Paléographie Latine, for instance, has been trying for decades to produce a unified vocabulary without success, due to the 'unsurmountable difficulties inherent to the project'.[140] The possibility of developing a specific terminology for Matthew Paris's manuscripts in Archetype is inherently subjective – as Petrucci puts it, terminology is inevitably subjective – although it creates a homogeneous classification system that applies to all the manuscripts in the corpus.[141]

The first step in the creation of the MParisPal terminology was the morphological study of samples of all manuscripts in the corpus, in order to get a sense of the elements of description. Acquainting myself with DigiPal's original terminology and with the (relatively) standard terminology applied to Gothic scripts also gave me a sense of how to approach this task, which in turn prompted me to understand the formation of individual letterforms in a deeper way. This was achieved at first by reproducing samples of all letterforms, abbreviation and punctuation with a calligraphy pen. Understanding the *ductus* of Matthew Paris's hand - and also of some of the collaborating scribal hands – in a calligraphic manner

[137] The rationale for the creation of the corpus can be found in 1.a Objectives.
[138] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 7.
[139] Petrucci, *La descrizione del manoscritto: Storia, problema, modelli* (Rome, 2001), 70-1.
[140] The website of the Comité Internationale de Paléographie Latine offers a more complete description of this project (http://www.palaeographia.org/cipl/derolez.htm).
[141] Petrucci, *La descrizione del manoscritto*, 70-1.

led to a clearer distinction between the different components of each character, and allowed me to create a preliminary list of components and features that excluded abbreviation and punctuation. From then on, a reduced selection of common and particularly characteristic abbreviations, and the basic elements of punctuation were added to the list, whilst further work was carried out in streamlining the existing terms to reduce ambiguity. The final terminology – as printed below – includes twenty characters (eleven letterforms, four abbreviations, four punctuation marks, and *signe de renvoi*).

a	*Caroline*	Head	Curved, above-minim height, closed, open, minim-height
		Back	Foot, foot absent, angular
		Lobe	Round, angular, open, teardrop-shaped, c-shaped
	Round	Lobe	Teardrop-shaped, angular
		Back	Foot, foot absent
b		Ascender	Forked (small), forked (large), flat-topped, wedged
		Bowl	Angled, open, round
d		Bowl	C-shaped, teardrop-shaped, round
		Stem	Concave up, 45°, hooked right, long
e		Lower curve	Curved, angular, round
		Upper stroke	Curved, straight
		Tongue	Curved, angled
f		Hook	Angled, round, horizontal
		Downstroke	Straight, foot, foot absent
		Tongue	Horizontal

g		Bowl	C-shaped, teardrop-shaped
		Body	Round, trapezoidal, large
		Tongue	Horizontal, curved, convex
		Tail	Hooked, angled, round, straight, long
h		Shaft	Forked (small), forked (large), wedged-topped, flat-topped, foot, foot absent
		Arch	Angled, thin, thick
		H downstroke	Curved, straight
k		Ascender	Wedged, flat-topped, straight
		Lower branch	Straight-down, horizontal
		Upper branch	Hooked down, straight
l		Shaft	Forked (large), forked (small), wedged, flat-topped, short foot, long foot, horizontal foot
p		Bowl	Narrow, curved, open, angled
		Descender	Foot, foot absent, straight, flat-topped
s	*Vertical*	Head	Horizontal, curved, angled
		Down stroke	Straight, broken-back, foot, foot absent, Above minim-height, thick

Double-curved	Upper S curve	Above minim height, minim height, round, Horizontal, angled
	Lower S curve	Short, long, round, angled
Et (tironian)	Top stroke	Curved, wedged
	Cross stroke	Horizontal, absent
	Down stroke	Turned right, straight, foot, foot absent, diagonal
Est (tironian)	Upper stroke	Point at mid height, point at minim height; long comma, short comma
	Cross stroke	Horizontal
	Lower stroke	Long comma, short comma, point on baseline, point below baseline
Con (tironian)	Bowl (*con*)	Angular, open, round
	Tail (*con*)	Hooked, hook absent, long, short
-B*us*	Lower stroke (-b*us*)	Lower comma, upper comma, straight
	Upper stroke (-b*us*)	Point on baseline, point at mid-height, z-like
Punctus	Point	Mid-height, minim-height, on baseline
Punctus elevatus	Point	Mid-height, minim height, on baseline

	Up stroke	Curved, straight, half-closed, tick
Punctus interrogativus	Point	At mid height, at minim height
	Lower curve	Curved, angled
	Top curve	Curved, half-closed
Abbreviation stroke	Abbr. stroke	Concave down, concave up, horizontal, hooked up
Signe de renvoi	*Signe de renvoi*	To text on the same page, to text on a different page

Figure 2.1. Terminology used in MParisPal.

The selection of *et*, *est*, *-con* and -b*us* as the abbreviations and suspensions to annotate; and of the *punctus*, *punctus elevatus* and *punctus interrogativus*, and of the *signe de renvoi*, respond to two particular stimuli: first, their importance as elements of comparison; and second, their relevance as more unique elements of script, particularly in the case of punctuation.[142] Because of its commonplace nature and its different morphological variances, *et* was soon included in the final list; and, although not that common, *est* proved to be another character with changes relevant in a process of comparison. When analysing the hand of Matthew Paris, both *con* and -b*us* became relevant as elements of identification and comparison, as they display unique characteristics in Paris's hand (as discussed below in 1.a). With regards to punctuation, the *punctus*, *punctus elevatus* and *punctus interrogativus* are distinguished as the main marks of punctuation in thirteenth-century books.[143] The sheer variety of *signes de renvoi* in Matthew Paris's hand, particularly in BL Cotton MS Nero D I, justifies their inclusion as a describable character, as it enriches the description of Paris's hand. Additional relevant elements such as *litterae notabiliores* or more instances of punctuation are looked at in more depth when describing Paris's hand, but are not taken into consideration for the distinction of scribal hands. As discussed below, the process of simplifying and

[142] Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*, (Oxford, 1992), 41.
[143] Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 43-6.

streamlining of MParisPal led to the reduction in the number of characters to be described across all hands.

It became soon apparent that annotating twenty characters across ten manuscripts was impractical, not because there was an intention of annotating every single instance of every character, but because even when annotating only relevant instances on each leaf there would be too many annotations to make sense of in the end. Additionally, it also became clear that the description and identification of scribal hands was possible without annotating all characters from the list above. Soon in the annotation process a full revision of the terminology was carried out and a smaller and representative quantity of characters were selected as 'essential' based on the relevance of **a**, **d**, **e**, **g**, vertical **s**, tironian *et* and *con*, and *signes de renvoi* to identify Paris's hand (and of **b** and **h** to assess the treatment of ascenders), and therefore to distinguish other scribes from it; on the variability of -b*us* and double-curved **s** within the collaborating hands and between those and Paris's; and the above-mentioned individual variability of punctuation.[144] Thus, the annotation on MParisPal was applied to the following characters: **a** (caroline and round), **b**, **d**, **e**, **g**, **h**, vertical and double-curved **s**, *et*, *est*, *con-*, -b*us*, *punctus*, *punctus elevatus*, *punctus interrogativus* and *signes de renvoi*. Once there was an established and functional terminology in place, the acquisition of digital images became the next obstacle to overcome. With ten manuscripts being analysed, a preliminary visual identification of script became essential to choose which images to take or purchase. A Small Grant from King's College London made the purchase of digitisations from the British Library possible. In other instances, either personal photographs were taken, or already available digitisations were kindly given to me for the duration of the project. From the corpus, images were purchased of BL Cotton MS Nero D I, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133; some images were obtained of BL Royal MS 14 C VII, part of ChL MS 6712, CCCC MS 26 and 16 II; and I personally photographed TCD MS 177, part of ChL MS 6712, CCCO MS 2 and CUL Dd 11 78.

[144] Some of these characters were already highlighted by Vaughan as 'characteristic' of Matthew Paris (above, '*Scribal identification, the ageing of script and scribal collaboration*'; Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 385-6).

Quantitative methods

Quantitative methods have been consistently used in historical research for decades.[145] In fact, statistics are the backbone of research in an array of areas (from historical demography to the development of living standards), and can be essential when making sense of large amounts of data. However, the interpretation of the quantification of historical information usually takes the shape of statistical analysis, which presents both a compelling opportunity for displaying and some methodological limitations. With the aim of giving a quantifiable backing to palaeographic observation, or in order to trace minute changes through time and space that are not apparent to the naked eye, these methods have been used in palaeographic research, usually linked to digital methods in recent times.[146]

Quantitative methods applied to palaeography have been part of scholarship since the 1970s, with some illustrious precedents like Meyer's *statistische Übersichten*.[147] The criteria by which handwriting can be identified have been the concern of several palaeographers, who saw in them the basis for a quantitative analysis. However, it was Léon Gilissen who created the first seminal work of quantitative palaeography in 1973, effectively starting one of the major palaeographic debates of the twentieth century.[148] *L'expertise des écritures médiévales* attempted to distinguish between scribal hands in the eleventh-century Lectionnaire de Hobbes, by applying and enlarging a number of criteria derived from Mallon.[149] The general agreement was that Gilissen's methodology was flawed because of its technicality and scale, making it impossible to replicate.[150] How objective the measurement of the writing angle can be, or what the elements are that define script became questions that kept being asked in subsequent publications. Bischoff's visceral division between the 'art of sight and empathy' (*Kunst des Sehens und Einfühlung*) and the 'art of measuring' (*Kunst des Messens*) crystallised the opposition of traditional palaeographers to

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145 P. Hudson, *History by Numbers: An Introduction to Quantitative Approaches* (Oxford, 2016), 3-5; R. Floud, *An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians* (Princeton, 1973) 1.
146 One example of this approach is *Graphoskop*, described above.
147 W. Meyer, *Die Buchstaben-Verbindungen der sogenannten gothischen Schrift* (Berlin, 1897), 12-16.
148 Gilissen, *L'expertise*. The scholarly debate derived from Gilissen's work includes: E. Poulle, 'Paléographie et méthodologie. Vers l'analyse scientifiques des écritures médiévales', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 132:1 (1974), 101-110; A. d'Haenens, 'Pour une sémiologie paléographique et une histoire de l'écriture', *Scriptorium,* 29:2 (1975), 175-98; and Gilissen's response, L. Gilissen, 'Ductus et rapport modulaire: réponse aux articles de MM d'Haenens et Ornato', *Scriptorium,* 29:2 (1975), 235-44.
149 Angle of writing, module, weight, *ductus*, morphology, and style (Gilissen, *L'expertise*).
150 Stokes, 'Computer-Aided palaeography', 315; Kestemont *et al.*, 'Artificial Palaeography', S87.

quantitative methods.[151] However, the development of digital palaeography, as described above, brought a surge in the use of quantitative methods. Denis Muzerelle, Dominique Stutzmann, Maria Gurrado, M. Aussems and Erik Kwakkel, among others, have incorporated and developed quantitative methods in their research as a means of understanding palaeographic change and aiding scribal identification.[152]

There are multiple ways in which quantitative methods can be applied to palaeographical research, from descriptive statistics aiming to just display a collection of data, to probability-infused inferential statistics aiming to draw conclusions from different bodies of data calculating their possible correlation.[153] Given the type of data being generated on MParisPal – digital annotations -, quantitative methods are needed to manage and make sense of this large quantity of individual annotations. More specifically, this project employs quantitative methods in two ways: to chart the evolution of the hand of Matthew Paris, and to describe the hands of his collaborators. The study of the hand of Matthew Paris through time using MParisPal has character annotations as the basic quantifiable unit. MParisPal contains 5500 individual main-text annotations on Paris's hand across all manuscripts in the corpus. This number of annotations is large enough to need a quantitative-statistical approach in order to trace palaeographic change throughout the corpus. The implementation of quantitative methods can be applied at three different levels in MParisPal: character level, allograph level, and component features, as described above.[154] At character level, the use or not of certain characters is relevant for changes in the hand, as with the use of the described abbreviations (b*us* and tironian *con*, *et* and *est*); at allograph level, two of the described characters (**a** and **s**) have two allographs each (caroline/round **a** and double-curved/vertical **s**), which means the instances in which they are used can be quantified. At component features level, there are a minimum of two

[151] A. Petrucci, 'Commentare Bischoff', *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 19 (1995), 325-48; A. Pratesi and A. Petrucci, 'Commentare Bischoff: un secondo intervento', *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 22 (1998), 405-8; J. P. Gumbert, 'Commentare "Commentare Bischoff"', *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 22 (1998), 397-404.
[152] D. Muzerelle, 'Le geste et son ombre: Essai sur le 'rapport modulaire' des écritures', *Gazette du livre médiéval*, 35 (1999), 32-45; 'Jeux d'angles et jeux de plume. I. Retour sur l'hypothèse du biseautage de la plume', Gazette du livre médiéval, 60 (2013), 1-27; M. Gurrado, 'Les écritures cursives livresques en France (1250-1420): Essai de paléographie quantitative d'après le catalogue des manuscrits datés' (Sorbonne Univ. Ph.D thesis, 2011); 'Writing Angles: Palaeographic Considerations on the *Inclinaison* of the Script', in S. Barret, D. Stutzmann and G. Vogeler (eds.), *Ruling the script: formal aspects of written communication (books, charters, and inscriptions)* (Turnhout, 2016), 283-98; D. Stutzmann, 'Écrire à Fontenay. Esprit cistercien et pratiques de l'écrit en Bourgogne (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)' (Sorbonne Univ. Ph.D thesis, 2009); Kwakkel, 'Biting, Kissing and the Treatment of Feet: The Transitional Script of the Long Twelfth Century', in E. Kwakkel, R. Mckitterick, R. Thomson (eds.), *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Book* (Leiden, 2012), 79-126; M. Aussems, 'Christine de Pizan: The Scribal Fingerprint' (Edinburgh Univ. Ph.D thesis, 2013).
[153] Hudson, *History by Numbers*, 6-10.
[154] See above, 'Digital Humanities, Archetype and MParisPal'.

describable features per character, which allows for detailed descriptions. The occurrences of characters, with a possible variety of allographs, and displaying a number of features are the basis for this quantitative approach. Additionally, the angle of writing in relation to the baseline of the angle of some ascenders is measured and quantified, although this is carried out manually as it is not one of the functionalities of MParisPal.

The measuring of pen angles is not without controversy. To the intense debate that followed Gilissen's *L'expertise des écritures médiévales* – building Mallon's concept of '*angle d'écriture*' - we can add the doubts on the meaningfulness of the measurement voiced by Stokes, in relation to inconsistent hands and scribes who consciously changed their writing angle.[155] Both Mallon and Marichal wrote about the concept of 'angle of writing' before Gilissen applied it, and defined it and measured it in different ways.[156] However, scholarship in the field of calligraphy had already been concerned with the study of pen angles, in particular the angle of writing (angle of the pen in relation to the writing surface). Johnston defines the angle of writing as 'constant angle' or 'set position', which is assumed to remain constant throughout.[157] Nevertheless, the uncertainty regarding what angle to measure, and in which way, was the main criticism voiced against writing angles as identification aids. In the case of the hands of Matthew Paris and his collaborators, measuring the angle of writing in relation to the baseline ('constant angle', as defined by Johnston; or '*angle d'approche*', as defined by Muzerelle) and the relative angle of ascenders in relation to the baseline is intended to give an additional layer of evidence, but does not constitute the sole basis for palaeographical argument.[158] Another criticism of angle-measuring – that it is impractical to measure in large corpora – does not apply in this particular case, as the angle of writing is only measured for certain characters and only in representative samples, as detailed below.[159] The way in which the angle of writing is calculated is by measuring the angle of between the thickest part of the ascender, measured obliquely, in relation to the baseline, following Gilissen's diagram and Muzerelle's

[155] Stokes, 'Computer-Aided palaeography', 315; F. J. Maarse and A. J. W. M. Thomassen, 'Produced and Perceived Writing Slant: Difference Between Up and Down Strokes', *Acta Psychologica*, 54 (1983), 131-147, 145-6; Gilissen, *L'expertise*, 14-19.
[156] Gurrado, 'Writing Angles', 284-5.
[157] E. Johnston, *Formal Penmanship and Other Papers* (London, 1977), 73
[158] As discussed above, Archetype is designed to describe morphology, which excludes other elements such as angles. The measurement of angles in this project has been carried out outside of MParisPal with the aim of providing an additional layer of evidence for scribal identification.
[159] An example of a project that relied heavily on measurements is Aussems's on Christine de Pizan (Aussem, 'Christine de Pizan: The Scribal Fingerprint').

definition of *'angle d'approche'*.[160] This is the angle that is formed 'between the axis of the writing instrument and the line of writing'.[161] For the most part, the measurement of the *angle d'approche* tends to be similar between scribal hands. However, there are slight differences that can be used to trace physical changes that can be associated with the ageing of the hand, or when a simple visual differentiation is inconclusive. In addition to these statistical approximations, the angle of writing and the relative angle of some ascenders are also measured in this project, particularly in characters with prominent ascenders like **b** and **d**.

Describing each scribal hand belonging to Paris's collaborators implies working with a large number of annotations. Being able to describe the representative characteristics of each described character, whilst considering the full length of the sections written by each of them, makes the use of quantitative methods advisable. In terms of number of annotations, the hands of Paris's collaborators correspond to 10902 individual annotations on MParisPal, distributed across the ten manuscripts of the corpus in the following manner:

[160] Gilissen, *L'expertise*, 14; Muzerelle, 'Jeux d'angles et jeux de plume', 4.
[161] Gurrado, 'Writing Angles', 286.

Manuscript	Number of annotations (excluding Matthew Paris)	Number of scribal hands (excluding Matthew Paris)	Number of annotated leaves (excluding Matthew Paris)	Number of digital images on MParisPal	Number of leaves in each manuscript
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	204	1	2	7	221
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	3209	10	23	123	202
BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133[162]	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	1
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	451	2	4	10	232
CCCC MS 16 II	1541	4	15	566	281
CCCC MS 26	1561	3	16	160	151
CCCO MS 2	412	1	5	22	368
CUL Dd 11 78	1350	6	18	79	238
ChL MS 6712	1329	4	13	58	295
TCD MS 177	845	3	8	30	77

Figure 2.2. Annotations, scribal hands and annotated leaves per manuscript (excluding Matthew Paris).

Given the large number of annotations created on MParisPal – 16402 in total - the most efficient way of both tracing the evolution of Paris's script and defining that of his collaborators is the use of representative samples, or sampling. Sampling, as a quantitative approach to historical research, is most often employed when aiming for statistical conclusions out of a large body of information.[163] As such, it helps make evidence manageable by working with certain sections or cases out of the information available, inferring statistical trends. Applications of sampling technique range from population censuses to large corporate inventories. It must be noted, however, that the way the sample

[162] This folio only contains Matthew Paris's hand and a later scribal hand.
[163] Hudson, *History by Numbers*, 169.

is selected and the interpretation of the results are necessarily not representative of the whole evidence, but show plausible trends and help generalise a historical tendency or a recurring phenomenon.[164] In the case of Matthew Paris's hand, annotations were made on sample images from ten manuscripts. Each of these manuscripts has a variable grade of participation by Paris, ranging from a leaf written entirely in Paris's hand (BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133) to a Bible that has very few leaves in his hand (CCCO MS 2). The unequal representation of Paris's hand across the corpus is reflected in the number of leaves that are annotated. This unequal degree of participation of a scribal hand across the manuscripts in the corpus also applies to the hands of the collaborators.

Manuscript	**Annotated leaves in Paris's hand**	**Total individual annotations**
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	2	162
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	8	1212
BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133	1	192
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	2	266
CCCC MS 16 II	10	1156
CCCC MS 26	6	779
CCCO MS 2	2	187
CUL Dd 11 78	5	464
ChL MS 6712	4	440
TCD MS 177	5	642

Figure 2.3. Number of annotated leaves containing Matthew Paris's hand, and of annotations per manuscript.

Selecting representative samples is the basis for reliable results and, as shown above, the characteristics of the manuscripts make sampling Paris's hand and the hands of the collaborating scribes particularly complex, not only because of the unequal distribution of each hand's participation within each manuscript, but also because of the availability, or lack thereof, digital images. Considering the figures above, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI

[164] Hudson, *History by Numbers*, 180; Floud, *An Introduction*, 155.

and BL Royal MS 14 C VII are clearly underrepresented in comparison to other manuscripts that can employ full digitisations, such as BL Cotton MS Nero D I, TCD MS 177 or the Cambridge manuscripts. Thus, the employed sampling technique and its adaptation to this project respond to the particularities of the data and of the evidence that is being sought: the prevalence of characters, allographs and component features in Paris's hand, and the definition of average allograph choices and component features in the hands of the collaborators. The limitations to the available materials – digitisations, for instance – are bridged by the use of sampling, which ensures the methodological validity of the results.

There are two main techniques described in the literature by which to select samples, depending both on the type of data being analysed and on the resources and time available: normal distribution and independent random sample.[165] Normal distribution assumes an ideal distribution that displays a constant proportion amongst samples.[166] This technique assumes a homogeneous body of information from which to sample, which is not the case with the annotations on MParisPal. Independent random sampling, on the other hand, ensures every case (i.e. every leaf in a manuscript and every instance of a character) has equal chances of being chosen as part of the sample. It relies upon an unbiased random selection, whether by electronic or non-electronic means. In this particular case, there are two variables that affect the randomness of the selected leaves for annotation: first, the number of digital images available, as mentioned above; and second, the representation of scribal hands throughout the manuscripts. Both in the case of Matthew Paris and his collaborators, there is an unequal distribution of their participation in the corpus, that is, scribal hands are not distributed equally within the manuscripts. In order to ensure the representation of all scribal hands and to be able to analyse the first leaf in which the scribe participates, the transitional leaf, or the one immediately before a change of hand, a direct selection of leaves to be annotated is carried out.

Considering the two rules just mentioned, the randomness of the samples is compromised for a fuller representation of all scribal hands. The remaining leaves have been randomly annotated, aiming for a fair representation of all hands and bearing in mind the whole of the participation of each scribe must be represented. The figure below shows the distribution of scribal hands in CUL Dd 11 78, containing a collection of poetry by Henry

[165] Floud, *An Introduction*, 161-71; Hudson, *History by Numbers*, 170.
[166] Floud, *An Introduction*, 162. Hudson, *History by Numbers*, 175-6.

d'Avranches. It is a typical example of the distribution of annotated samples throughout a manuscript.

Annotated leaves	**Scribal hand**	**Hand distribution in manuscript**
ar, 1r, 29r	Matthew Paris (Hand 1)	ar-34r
35v	Hand 2	35v-37v
57r	Matthew Paris (Hand 1)	38r-57v
58r, 58v	Hand 3	58r-60v
61r	Hand 4	61r
61v	Hand 5	61v
62r, 74r, 109v, 148r	Hand 6	62r-148v
150v	Matthew Paris (Hand 1)	148v-155v
156r, 156v, 169r, 177r	Hand 2	156r-174v
184v	Matthew Paris (Hand 1)	184v-195v + 199r
199v	Hand 7	199v
200r, 200v, 208v, 236v, 238r, 238v	Hand 8	200r-238v

Figure 2.4. Annotated leaves and their correspondence with scribal hands in CUL Dd 11 78.

The analysis of Matthew Paris's hand requires a different use of quantitative data than the analysis of the hands of the collaborators: the former includes minute assessment of the angles of certain strokes and of the angle of writing; the latter is centred around the general characterisation of the hand. This way there is more information on patterns of stability and change in Paris's hand that are used for the construction of a manuscript chronology. Representative selected and random samples ensure a representative sample of the scribal hand being analysed, whether Matthew Paris's or not. It is, however, clear that a compromise had to be reached between the representation of all hands and random selection. However, the selection process is not an end in itself, but a way of collecting data that can be presented and interpreted.

The ways in which quantitative data are analysed in section 2.b (Evolution of Matthew Paris's hand) are three: percentages of occurrence of an allograph; percentages of

occurrence of a certain feature throughout a manuscript; and the angle of writing and of ascenders in relation to the baseline. These approaches are facilitated by lists of annotations (one per manuscript) generated by MParisPal, and are usually represented by tables in which the margin of error is taken into consideration to add an indication of statistical significance. The margin of error is the percentage of possible variance from a given percentage, which allow one to see the level of accuracy of the statistical data.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.5. Fragment of a list of annotations in Paris's hand in CUL Dd 11 78, as seen on MParisPal.

A list of all annotations by every scribal hand in every manuscript is generated and then analysed in order to find both characteristic features and the number of times these features appear in relation to other features. In the case above, the split of the ascender of b*us* can be characterised as generally large for this manuscript. Only two of the samples (1 and 12) can be defined as having smaller splits, so the percentages would be 15.38% for smaller splits and 84.61% for larger splits, rounded to 15% and 85%. This is quite an extreme example, in which one feature is absolutely predominant over another, but there are many cases (as with allographs of **a**) in which they are more similar and therefore small variances throughout the corpus can be observed. This method is employed both for understanding the levels of occurrence of an allograph and of component features.

The use of quantitative methods, in combination with digital palaeography, to support the palaeographical analysis of the hands of Matthew Paris and his collaborators gives this project far more data than previous studies, and gives the conclusions given here a higher

statistical significance.[167] The use of quantitative methods in this project relies upon the possibilities they bring to make sense of large amounts of digital annotations, with the aim of using the results as one element of palaeographical description. Whether as markers of chronological change in Matthew Paris's hand or as description aids for the hands of his collaborators, incorporating this methodology complements the use of MParisPal as a repository of palaeographic annotations. The statistical data extracted from the annotations is meant to give an illustrative background to palaeographic change and characterisation, not as an end in itself but as a step towards a more comprehensive and observation-based palaeographical argument that incorporates meaningful statistical evidence. Once the preliminary identification of hands is done manually and digital images are selected for uploading, the annotation on MParisPal is done following semi-random sampling, as described above. All annotations are processed quantitatively to produce averages of occurrence of characters, allographs and component features, in order to enable a final distribution and description of scribal hands, and a proposed chronology of Paris's manuscripts. In short, this methodology allows for the use of a large corpus of manuscripts, the analysis of significant palaeographic features and the quantification of elements of palaeographic stability and change, all while keeping palaeographic methods and expertise at the designing and preliminary stages, and at the centre of all conclusions.

The methodological challenges of this project stem from the project's own research questions. The re-assessment of Paris's hand, the analysis of its changes through time, the identification and description of the collaborating hands and the evaluation of their contribution to the ten manuscripts in the corpus require a complex methodological approach. The discussion on palaeographic, digital and quantitative methods offered in this chapter show, firstly, how scribal identification, the ageing of the script, scribal collaboration, the digital identification of hands and the quantitative techniques to aid digital research have been approached before; and secondly, how this project has developed its own methodology based on the suitability and the results of previous scholarship. The use of MParisPal - supported by palaeographic method on scribal identification, ageing of script and scribal collaboration - and aided by quantitative techniques, emerges as a working formula that provides enough evidence to fulfil the objectives of this project.

[167] See chapter 5. Conclusions.

3. Matthew Paris after Vaughan: script, changes and chronology

The previous chapter demonstrated how the three methods used in this project relate to scholarship, and the way in which they come together to reach the objectives of this dissertation.[1] The practical application of these methodologies starts with the analysis of Paris's hand. The description and reassessment of Paris's hand using palaeographic and digital tools seeks to amplify Vaughan's description without just updating it, by incorporating new allographs. This new assessment is the basis for the identification of collaborating scribal hands in the manuscripts concerned (Chapter 4). It is also the starting point of an assessment of the changes seen in Paris's hand across the corpus (3.b), with the aim of creating a chronology for these manuscripts (3.c).

This chapter is divided in three sections: first, a re-examination of Paris's hand and its place in the wider context of the development of the Gothic scripts; second, a quantitative survey of the elements of change in Paris's hand throughout the manuscripts in the corpus; and lastly, a proposed chronology of Paris's manuscripts based on the palaeographical and quantitative evidence.

a. The hand of Matthew Paris

One of the aims of this project is to identify and describe Paris's hand. Vaughan's description does not include elements like punctuation and abbreviation (except for the general sign of abbreviation), and does not relate Paris's hand to the development of the Gothic scripts. The digital annotation of the manuscripts therefore brings more detail to the description of allographs, with a strong visual support. Also, a new description of the hand of Matthew Paris is necessary to provide a point of reference for the description of the hands of his collaborators (4.a), both in terms of graphic comparison and the vocabulary of the description. This section provides a full description of the hand, starting with letterforms – in alphabetical order –, followed by punctuation and abbreviation, and closing with the contextualisation of Paris's hand in relation to Gothic scripts.

[1] See chapter 1.a Objectives.

Matthew Paris's handwriting is, above all, morphologically striking (Figure 3.1). It changes through time – as shown by Vaughan and below - and depending on the level of formality, but it retains a clear identity.[2] In Vaughan's words, Paris's handwriting '[lacks] finish and technical quality'.[3] This lack of technical quality and of calligraphic expertise made Vaughan guess Paris was not a professional scribe.[4] And, considering the lack of biographical information on Matthew Paris, it is not possible to know when or from whom Paris learnt to write.[5] The overall appearance of the handwriting is uneven and lacks lateral compression, and there is also a certain shifting of the axis of the letters, which can be tilted to right or left in the same sentence, and in the same word, thus breaking the evenness of the lines.[6]

Images removed due to copyright restrictions.

[2] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 388-9.
[3] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 387.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] See chapter 1.b. Life, works and manuscripts of Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259).
[6] The idiosyncratic appearance of Paris's hand led to the distinction of a 'St Albans hand', described by Hardy as a script 'with the broken-back letters peculiar to St Albans' (see chapter 1.c. Historiographical approaches to Paris as author and scribe).

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Figure 3.1. Matthew Paris's hand in BL Royal MS 14 C VII (9va13-20), CCCC MS 26 (57va1-10) and TCD MS 177 (31rb1-13).

The most characteristic letters in Paris's hand are **a**, **g**, **d**, **e** and vertical **s**, which are the ones that present most variation.[7] **a** is found in caroline and round types: caroline **a** shows some morphological variety, from a well-proportioned letter to one with an exaggeratedly tall head curved at the top (Figure 3.2). This variation in shape and size can happen even in the same word, and it is this large head - often slanting to the left - that makes the identification of Paris's hand relatively easy. Round **a**, even though it is less common, also presents a certain variety, from a rounded type to a more angular version, or even one with the back protruding slightly above the lobe, which is often left opened.

Images removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 3.2. Examples of caroline and round **a** in Matthew Paris's hand.[8]

[7] The annotations of Paris's hand in MParisPal can be found either by finding the respective hand in each of the manuscripts or by searching by allograph or feature.

[8] Sources: Caroline **a**: BL Royal MS 14 C VII (15va5), CCCC MS 16 II (284va1), BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88rb23), CUL Dd 11 78 (ara12), BL Cotton MS Nero D I (27ra11), TCD MS 177 (28vb16) and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va25); Round a: CCCO MS 2 (369rb15), ChL MS 6712 (170vb19),

g also displays a high degree of variability. The most common type joins the second and third strokes, forming an inverted-**s** shape that gives the letter a rounded appearance, resembling the shape of a flattened number eight. It can also present a more disjointed aspect, with the four strokes clearly visible, and some examples with a large loop to the left, similar to a tironian *con* (Figure 3.3). These two types can be found regardless of the level of formality. Likewise, and echoing the case of **a**, **d** presents two different types, often appearing together in the same sentence or word (Figure 3.3). Uncial **d** can be found either with an angled ascender, or with a taller ascender curling to the right at the top, which when long closes in an enveloping stroke. The former tends to be used when the next letter has an opposite curve, as will be discussed later.

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Figure 3.3. Examples of letters **g** and **d** in Matthew Paris's hand.[9]

The next characteristic letterform in Paris's handwriting is **e**, the lobe of which can be disconnected from the main stroke, and/or the tongue. This gives the letter an open appearance, more of an elongated **c** (Figure 3.4). This upper body of the letter is also executed at times quickly, in a **z**-like stroke, making its overall appearance even more open, and – as in other letters – there is a certain tendency to angular shapes, particularly in the most cursive contexts. Lastly, vertical **s** often displays a particularity shared by other hands: the shaft has a protrusion to the left in the middle. The originality of this letterform is, however, the overall waviness of the shaft, creating what Vaughan called a 'broken-back appearance' (Figure 3.4).[10] The head is angular, and the shaft is generally footed. Although

CUL Dd 11 78 (238vb24), BL Royal MS 14 C VII (15va11), TCD MS 177 (39ra4) and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va17).

[9] Sources: **g**: BL Royal MS 14 C VII (10vb11), CCCC MS 26 (127vb14), CCCO MS 2 (369ra38), BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra25), CUL Dd 11 78 (ara8), BL Cotton MS Nero D I (27ra28) and TCD MS 177 (77ra11); **d:** BL Royal MS 14 C VII (17rb1), CCCC MS 26 (127ra13), CCCO MS 2 (369ra35), ChL MS 6712 (200va14), BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra11), BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va13) and TCD MS 177 (10rb15).

[10] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 386.

less common, double-curved **s** appears on occasion, particularly in final place, and it tends to either elongate the lower curve or substitute it with a downward stroke.

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Figure 3.4. Examples of letters **e** and **s** in Matthew Paris's hand.[11]

Ascenders and descenders in Paris's script also play an important part in its character. The ascenders of **b**, **h** and **l** are generally forked which, added to the undulating of the vertical strokes, creates a sinuous effect (Figure 3.5). Also, the first line of writing on the page tends to have longer ascenders, but this is not always the case. **b**, **h** and **l** generally display forked ascenders on current titles and rubrics. However, the length and boldness of these forked ascenders do change, being generally smaller and thinner on notes and additions. Descenders also play a part, those of **h**, **x** and **p** – and also **g**, described above – being curved and sinuous, with the second stroke of **h** and **x** curving to the left. Letter **p**, on the contrary, curves to the right, creating a small but noticeable foot.

Images removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 3.5. Examples of the ascenders of **b**, **h** and **l**; and descenders of **h**, **x** and **p** in Matthew Paris's hand.[12]

[11] Sources: **d**: CCCC MS 16 II (140vb54), CCCC MS 26 (128ra15), ChL MS 6712 (200va7), CUL Dd 11 78 (238va17), BL Cotton MS Nero D I (27rb26), BL Royal MS 14 C VII (210ra20) and TCD MS 177 (39ra4); **s**: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88rb13), CUL Dd 11 78 (ara1), BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va8), BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va22), CCCC MS 16 II (46rb17), ChL MS 6712 (178rb27) and TCD MS 177 (10ra2).

Apart from specific letterforms, there are other aspects crucial to understanding the handwriting of Matthew Paris. In a script lacking lateral compression like Paris's, the way letters connect to each other becomes essential as these connections are less common. In 1897 Wilhem Meyer, through observation of *textualis* script, summarised a number of fusion patterns between letters in order to date the development of the Gothic scripts.[13] Meyer's contribution continues to be highly influential, and the 'rules of Meyer' have been used as a conventional answer to the question of how fusions between letters work. However, they are not always followed, so their absence is not necessarily exceptional. [14]

In this sense, the degree to which the hand of Matthew Paris conforms to the rules of Meyer is relevant for the identification of the script, as the use of fusions in Paris's hand is uneven. The first rule – according to which two letters facing each other with opposing bows overlap – is not usually observed in Paris's hand. It is rarely observed when the first letter in the fusion is a **p** or a **d** – like in **po** or **do** –, and other pairs do not usually fuse. The second rule – by which round **r** is used after a bowed letter - applies in most cases, particularly in **or** and **br**. The lack of fusions in Paris's hand is not a particularly striking aspect, considering that his script is not fully *textualis* – to which the rules of Meyer are more strictly applicable - nor entirely cursive – where fusions of all types are commonplace (Figure 3.6). It is also relevant to note the presence of letters that, instead of sharing a central stroke, touch one another with their connecting strokes, forming what Erik Kwakkel calls 'kissing'.[15] Kwakkel associates the co-existence of both fusions and 'kissing' with the period before the full development of the Gothic script in the 1220s.[16] It is in the most formal hands in which fusions are more numerous, particularly in British manuscripts.[17] However, the fact that Paris used fusions and 'kissing' between certain letters is remarkable as an identification feature, given that he continued to use fusions and 'kissing', simultaneously, beyond the 1220s.

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[12] Sources: **b**: CUL Dd 11 78 (1ra23), BL Cotton MS Nero D I (25ra4) and TCD MS 177 (10ra5); **h**: BL Cotton MS Nero D I (25ra4) and BL Royal MS 14 C VII (210ra1); **l**: ChL MS 6712 (173va19) and CCCO MS 2 (369rb8); **x**: CCCO MS 2 (369va3), CCCC MS 26 (128ra6), BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va15); **p**: CCCC MS 16 II (38ra28), BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (87va27) and TCD MS 177 (10rb26).
[13] Meyer, *Der Buchstaben-Verbindungen.* 12-16; Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 130; Cherubini and Pratesi, *Paleografia latina,* 436.
[14] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 77.
[15] Kwakkel, 'Biting, Kissing', 100.
[16] Kwakkel, 'Biting, Kissing', 102-4.
[17] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 78.

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Figure 3.6. Examples of fusions and 'kissing' in Paris's hand.[18]

In the later Middle Ages, punctuation, which had had a great variety of symbols and systems, became more standardised.[19] This meant most scribes relied on three symbols: *punctus, punctus elevatus* and *punctus interrogatives*, and *litterae notabiliores*.[20] The *punctus* was the main punctuation mark, and could indicate a pause, introduce a quotation, separate sections of text (as when distinguishing between Roman numerals and letters), mark abbreviations and even introduce particular titles or names. The *punctus elevatus* and *punctus interrogativus* each combine the *punctus* with an additional sign placed above it: a virgula and sign resembling a quilisma neume, respectively. The *punctus elevatus* indicates a medial pause or colon, and the *punctus interrogativus* marks questions. Lastly, the *litterae notabiliores* were placed at the beginning of a *sententia* or paragraph, to differentiate it from the preceding text.[21]

The punctuation marks used by Matthew Paris fit the general description above (Figure 3.7): the *punctus elevatus* is the punctuation mark that shows most variation in shape. The *punctus* is usually found as a rounded dot at the base of the writing line, being used in all the above-mentioned functions, except for the introduction of names, when an initial, plain or coloured or with a splash of red or blue, is used instead. Against more formal hands, Paris's *punctus elevatus* is quite upwardly curved in its upper stroke or *virgula*, sometimes even

[18] Sources: **po**: TCD MS 177 (10rb30), BL Royal MS 14 C VII (210a35) and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88vb4); **pp**: CUL Dd 11 78 (6va32) and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88vb4); **de**: ChL MS 6712 (182rb20); **do**: BL Cotton MS Nero D I (25va29); **or**: TCD MS 177 (77ra21), CCCC MS 26 (27va28) and CUL Dd 11 78 (10ra26).
[19] Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 41.
[20] Parkes, *Pause and Effect,* 42.
[21] Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes*, 152.

resembling a reversed **c**.[22] However, there are instances in which the upper stroke looks more like a tick, more vertical than curved, but still within the usual shapes common in England in the first half of the thirteenth century.[23] The *punctus interrogativus* is present throughout Paris's manuscripts in its most recognisable shape: a dot and a diagonal upward stroke in the shape of a tight and slightly quadrangular **s**-like line. The second stroke is almost divided in two as the curve moves drastically from left to right, looking almost like an inverted **ç**. As with the other marks, the *punctus interrogativus* keeps a regular shape throughout the manuscripts in the corpus.[24]

As paragraph markers, Paris uses either coloured initials with pen flourishes (alternating red and blue), as in the *Historia Anglorum*, or just slightly enlarged letters with a splash of red or blue as in the *Chronica Majora*. Both systems are found working together, the flourished initials being used as paragraph markers and the highlighted letters as sentence markers. Both techniques are used together with rubrics, generally in red, and current titles, again alternating in colour. As rubrics became more important from the twelfth century, the traditional *notae* used as paragraph markers evolved and towards the end of the century the coloured *paraph* mark becomes commonplace.[25] Matthew Paris, however, uses it mainly at the beginning of running titles in the verso of the folia. Paris eliminates the lower stroke and instead extends the top stroke horizontally to the right, curving it at the end to the left.[26] The *paraph* is also used to introduce marginal additions to the main text, although there are variants to this, as not all notes are introduced by a *paraph*. Lastly, it is also used in lists of contents, such as in BL Cotton MS Nero MS D I, 166r, as pointed out by Vaughan.[27]

Rubrics, particularly in the manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora*, are used (in red) to introduce an episode or year, generally as part of the paragraph. In comparison with the script of the main texts, rubrics show a slightly more disjointed handwriting, although in the same size. One of the signature features of Paris's rubrics, not described by Vaughan, is the curved line to the left filling the letter **D**, with which many of the titles begin. When the

[22] In the manuscript of the *Historia Anglorum* (BL Royal MS C VII) there are several examples of the *punctus elevatus*, with a certain variance on the same page, like in 10ra4m 4, 8 and 12. In the *Chronica Majora* (CCCC MS 16 II) in 16ra8 and 11.
[23] Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 43.
[24] For instance, BL Royal 14 C VII, 14ra18; CCCC MS 16, 15vb2.
[25] Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 43; Vaughan, 'The Handwriting'.
[26] The paraph mark in current titles is found all throughout the *Chronica Majora* (CCCC 26 & 16 II and BL Royal MS 14 C VII) and *Historia Anglorum* (BL Royal MS 14 C VII), alternating blue and red.
[27] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', plate XV.

first letter of a rubric is not a **D**, it does have a tall ascender, prolonged and generally curved to the right. There are instances in which Paris added a rubric to the margin, as there is no space in the text. In these cases, he would introduce it with a blue *paraph*.

Marginal notes in Paris's manuscripts are numerous, as the texts underwent several revisions and corrections. New information was added in the shape of notes that are introduced by *signes de renvoi* that refer to a specific place in the main text. If a block of text is being added, it is normally enclosed with wavy red lines. The shape of this text-box varies from square to rectangular, or even trapezoidal. The use of *signes de renvoi* is rather common in Paris's manuscripts, and therefore understanding the way they work gives further grounds for identifying the script. There are two types of *signes* that can be found in Paris's manuscripts: the ones sending the reader to an addition, and the ones sending the reader to the *Liber Additamentorum* (to be found only in the manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora*) (Figure 3.7).[28]

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[28] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting'.

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Figure 3.7. Examples of punctuation and *signes de renvoi* in Paris's handwriting.[29]

[29] Sources: *Punctus*: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra30), BL Cotton MS Nero D I (25va23), TCD MS 177 (10ra31) and CCCC MS 16 II (16rb30); *Punctus elevatus*: CCCC MS 16 II (40va20), BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va33), ChL MS 6712 (190rb21) and CCCO MS 2 (369va1); *Punctus interrogativus*: BL Cotton

Apart from letterforms, punctuation, rubrics and notes or additions, there is another aspect that is essential in defining handwriting: abbreviation (Figure 3.8). The way words are abbreviated reveal not only practices common to the time of writing, but those common to the writer. Whether by contraction or by abbreviation sign, the patterns followed by Paris when composing a text can be described and analysed to produce a list of the most idiosyncratic abbreviations that can aid identification and provide a better insight into Paris's graphic identity.

Starting with the most usual types of abbreviation, the general sign of abbreviation shows some variation throughout Paris's manuscripts, although it generally remains a line engrossed in the centre and with slightly curved ends. Although it is not a completely straight line, the curve is not too pronounced, although it sometimes starts to become diagonal towards the right. On the other hand, in less formal contexts - notes, additions, corrections - the general sign of abbreviation becomes much more pronouncedly curved, producing a nearly inverted **s** shape. Another abbreviation constant in shape and use is tironian *et*, in the shape of a number seven, but with a small upward stroke, and ending in a foot to the right. The second stroke is always thick, which gives to the mark a bold appearance, and the diagonal third stroke slants to the left, right before the foot to the right. Even though it presents a stable shape, the level of cursivity of the text can make it look sharper, and the foot can be enlarged, almost connecting with the next letter. A rather important abbreviation sign in Matthew Paris's hand is tironian *con*, which is generally written looping to the left, similar to his own looping **g**. Another tironian sign is *est*, a horizontal stroke with two dots, one above and one below the stroke (which can sometimes be a comma), although this is not as commonplace as other types of abbreviation.[30]

Contractions occur frequently in Paris's handwriting, and they do so in the expected fashion (Figure 3.8).[31] Common words – like the demonstratives *ipse* and *iste*, pronouns,

MS Nero D I (184va22), CUL Dd 11 78 (150va8), TCD MS 177 (10rb37) and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va3); *Litterae notabiliores*: CCCC MS 26 (127vb26), ChL MS 6712 (190rb19), TCD MS 177 (28va15) and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra32); *Paraph*: CCCC MS 16 II (41rb, introducting annotation), BL Cotton MS Nero D I (122va26), ChL MS 6712 (176rb, introducing annotation) and CCCO MS 2 (369ra34); *Signes de renvoi*: CCCO MS 2 (369ra34), CCCC MS 16 II (94va, introducing annotation), BL Cotton MS Nero D I (27ra36) and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va1).

[30] E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford, 1912), 89.

[31] A. Cappelli, *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane,* seventh edition (Trent, 2011), xvii-xxii.

possessives and others like *omnis* – and *nomina sacra* are abbreviated by contraction on a regular basis, with a general sign of abbreviation over the word. Abbreviation marks other than the general sign of abbreviation are abundant in Paris's hand and they include a straight or slightly curved line for **m** or **n**; and a conventional crossed **r** for -r*um*. Also, and conventionally, the cursively-traced **i** on top of letter **u** can be found in *ubi*. This superscript **i** can present a heavy serif stroke at the top left, which makes it resemble a number 7. Other signs include *us,* represented by an apostrophe-shaped symbol. Even though Paris's hand generally shows a great variety of letter-forms, his abbreviation signs are quite stable, as shown below (Figure 3.8). Other signs, more significant in context rather than by themselves, include the ones using **p** and **q**, like p*er*/p*ar*/p*or,* p*r(a)e* and p*ro*. This category includes the suspension sign for -b*us*, which can be either a distinct semicolon or a 3-like stroke that goes just below the baseline. A different category of abbreviation widely used by Paris is superscript vowels. Although sometimes they are difficult to distinguish from specific abbreviation signs, superscript vowels are present and are used distinctively. Letters **i**, **a** (open, almost like a **u** or a wavy line), **o** and, less frequently, **u** can be found throughout Paris's script. Superscript consonants are only represented by **t**, which is used to abbreviate third person, indicative verbs ending in consonant + *it*, including *uit*. Despite the irregularity of Paris's hand his abbreviation and punctuation are quite consistent.

After the description of its general appearance, main letterforms, punctuation and abbreviation it can be concluded that the handwriting of Matthew Paris is, above all, idiosyncratic, which can aid identifying and distinguishing it from other scribes. Paris continued using fusions and 'kissing' after, according to Kwakkel, they had stopped being used simultaneously (1225), developed a script that defies classification given its hybrid nature, and gave his script an appearance that sets it apart from those of contemporary scribes.[32] As expected, there are different levels of formality in his script, as glossing, annotating and correcting were usually carried out in a less formal hand. Overall, the script of Matthew Paris can be distinguished by aspect alone, given its idiosyncrasies. However, the above description of letterforms, abbreviation and punctuation constitutes the first step in understanding how this script changed – if at all – through time, and how these changes can help our understanding of scribal collaboration in this manuscript corpus.

[32] Kwakkel, 'Biting, Kissing', 102-3.

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3.8. Examples of abbreviation signs and superscript vowels in Matthew Paris's handwriting.[33]

Matthew Paris's hand and the Gothic scripts, c. 1200-1260

Matthew Paris lived roughly through the process of development and consolidation of the Gothic scripts, and his hand is situated somewhere between Northern *Textualis* and *Hybrida*. The way Paris's script relates to the general palaeographical trends of the first half of the thirteenth century does not only add depth to the description of the hand but also provides the basis for the analysis of the evolution of the script in 3.c. A brief introduction to the transition between Caroline minuscule and Gothic is followed by the palaeographic definition of the main categories between the Gothic scripts, the development of Gothic

[33] Sources: General sign of abbreviation: BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va1), TCD MS 177 (5rb19), CCCC MS 26 (128rb17) and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88va21); tironian *et*: ChL MS 6712 (176rb10), BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88vb22), TCD MS 177 (75vb27) and BL Cotton MS Nero D I (63vb14); tironian *est*: CUL Dd 11 78 (238va11), TCD MS 177 (39ra4), ChL MS 6712 (178ra39) and BL Cotton MS Nero D I (27rb17); tironian *con*: CCCC MS 16 II (284vb8), CUL Dd 11 78 (238vb15), CCCC MS 16 II (46ra19) and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88rb11); Sign for *-rum*: TCD MS 177 (17vb14), CCCC MS 26 (127vb44), BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va18); Sign for *-us*: CCCO MS 2 (369rb5), BL Royal MS 14 C VII (210ra34) and ChL MS 6712 (176rb19); Sign for -b*us*: TCD MS 177 (77rb2), BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va10), BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88rb8) and BL Cotton MS Nero D I (69vb37). Signs for *per*/*par*/*pro*: ChL MS (173vb33), BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88rb28), TCD MS 177 (5rb13) and BL Cotton MS Nero D I (25vb26); Signs for *per-prae*/*pro*: CCCC MS 26 (127rb26), TCD MS 177 (73ra17) and CCCO MS 2 (369rb28); Superscript **a**: CUL Dd 11 78 (10ra9) and CCCC MS 16 II (45ra47); Superscript **i**: CCCC MS 26 (128vb14) and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88va19); Superscript **e**: ChL MS 6712 (190ra3) and CUL Dd 11 78 (45va6); Superscript **t**: CUL Dd 11 78 (31va16), CCCC MS 26 (128va20 and 127ra38).

cursive script in England (Anglicana) and, to conclude, the place Paris's hand occupies in this process.

The transition from Caroline minuscule to Gothic takes place roughly in the twelfth century.[34] This period, from the late eleventh to the early thirteenth centuries, has been labelled as the 'Long twelfth century', which echoes the more widely used and more general concept of 'Twelfth century Renaissance' (1075-1225).[35] During this complex period, Caroline minuscule starts to show major changes in features and layout, which have prompted the coining of many labels with which to describe them, as discussed below. Changes to pen and angle of writing, lateral compression, the marking of serifs and feet, the fusion of the lobes and stems of letters with opposing curves and changes in module and the length of ascenders are the main characteristics of script in this period according to Parkes.[36]Additionally, Webber observes an increasing differentiation between document and book scripts, particularly towards the central decades of the century.[37] As with many a term in palaeography, there have been many attempts at naming the script from c. 1075 to c.1225, which is symptomatic of the complexity of the script itself and entirely dependent upon considering the script as a changing Caroline, an emerging Gothic or a hybrid.[38] These names include Late or Post-Caroline, Early Gothic, Protogothic, *Caroline gothicisante* and *gothicisée*, *minuscola di transizione*, *Carolino-Gothica*, *Gothique primitive*, Romanesque script, Transitional script and *Littera Praegothica*, a term favoured both by Lieftinck and Derolez.[39]

[34] Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 127; Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 56.
[35] On the 'Long twelfth century' and the 'Twelfth century Renaissance' from a historical perspective: M. Brett and D. A. Woodman (eds.), *The Long Twelfth Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past* (Farnham, 2015); R. L. Benson, G. Constable and C. D. Lanham (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1982). On changes to script in the twelfth century, Parkes, 'Handwriting in English Books', 110-20; *Their Hands Before Our Eyes*, 93-4; Derolez, *The Palaeography*, ch. 3; Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century After the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960)*;* Webber, 'L'écriture', 139; Kwakkel, 'Biting, Kissing', 84-5.
[36] Parkes, 'Handwriting in English Books', 110-11. Specific letterforms that change have been divided by Derolez into three groups: those that remained in their Carolingian form (**b**, **c**, **k**, **l**, **p**, **o**, **q**, **u**, **z**); those that changed partially (**f**, **r**, **s**), and those with new features (long **s**, round **r**, **d**, **m**) (Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 60-5).
[37] Webber, 'L'écriture', 164.
[38] For the period 1066-1100, D. Ganz, R. Rushforth and T. Webber, 'Latin Script in England c. 900–1100', in R. Gameson (Ed.*), The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge, 2011), I, 187-224; and from 1100 onwards, Parkes, 'Handwriting in English Books'. Derolez defines the whole group of transitional scripts as *Praegothicae* (Derolez, *The Palaeography*, ch. 3); Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 127; Kwakkel, 'Biting, Kissing'.
[39] Lieftinck, *Manuscrits datés*, xiii; A discussion on terminology is found in Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 56-7; and it is also discussed by Bischoff (B. Bischoff, G. I. Lieftinck, and G. Batelli, *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IXe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1954)*,* 13-4, although he prefers to use *gothiques primitives*, a preference shared by Gumbert ('A Proposal', 49). For the terms above: Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 128; G. Cencetti, *Lineamenti di storia della scrittura latina* (Bologna, 1954), 184; Bischoff *et al., Nomenclature*, 13; and Cherubini and Pratesi, *Paleografia latina*, 423; Kwakkel, 'Biting, Kissing', 85.

Scholars agree in identifying, in examples from the 1220s, a consolidated Gothic script known as *Littera Textualis*, *Gothic Textualis* or simply *Textualis*.[40] There are, however, geographical variants that, whilst being Gothic in nature, are also distinctly different. Derolez distinguishes between Northern *Textualis* or *Formata* and Southern *Textualis* or *Rotunda* and, while not all palaeographers agree on giving them different names, geographical differences are always made.[41] *Textualis* is the most formal of the Gothic scripts, and also the most widely used, starting its evolution from high-quality copies of the Bible.[42] Following Lieftinck's classification, *Textualis* is characterised by two-compartment **a**, the ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l** without loops (with flat tops); and **f** and straight **s** on the line without descenders.[43]

When Gothic *Textualis* became one of the main book scripts in Europe in the first decades of the thirteenth century, new types of book-script appeared that would live alongside *Textualis* for the remainder of the Gothic scripts cycle. Gothic cursive scripts, with their different types and terminologies, developed from the will to write faster, something that can be related to the general trend of changes in book production.[44] The term cursive has prompted debate among palaeographers, as it can be used to describe speed of execution or to describe scripts that derive from 'quick' scripts but have been made more formal.[45] Thus, Gothic cursive scripts can be either book scripts or documentary scripts. Following Lieftinck's classification, Continental cursive book scripts are characterised as having: single-compartment **a**, loops at the right of ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l**; and straight **s** and **f** with descenders dropping below the baseline.[46] Derolez adds a new category, *Cursiva Antiquior*, that does have a double-compartment **a**, and re-labels Lieftinck's cursive just

[40] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 71; Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 127; Cherubini and Pratesi, *Paleografia latina*, 431.
[41] Derolez, *The Palaeography,* 72-122.
[42] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 73.
[43] Derolez defines four subdivisions within Northern *Textualis* or *Formata*: *Textus Quadratus, Textus Praescissus, Textus Semiquadratus* and *Textus Rotundus*. These subdivisions differ from Lieftinck and Gumbert's Cartesian categories which distinguish between different levels of execution within *Textualis*: *Formata, Libraria* or *Media* and *Currens*. Southern *Textualis* or *Rotunda* is usually found in Mediterranean manuscripts. Differences within Rotunda are geographical, with variants in Italy, Spain and Portugal and Southern France. Derolez also finds a different category mostly in Italy, although present in other Mediterranean areas: *Semitextualis* (Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 20-1, 74, 102-118, 118-22; Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 127-145; G. I. Lieftinck, 'Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite gothique', in B. Bischoff, G. I. Lieftinck, and G. Batelli, *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IXe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1954), 15-34; Gumbert, 'A Proposal', 47-9). A discussion on the elements that characterise *Textualis* can also be found in Cherubini and Pratesi, *Paleografia latina*, 436-7.
[44] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 123; Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 137; Parkes, 'Handwriting in English Books', 120-1; *Their Hands Before Our Eyes,* 80; *English Cursive Book Hands*, xiii-xiv.
[45] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 123.
[46] Lieftinck, *Manuscrits datés*, XIII-XIV; Gumbert, 'A Proposal', 46.

Cursive or *Cursiva Recentior*. In England, the variety of *Cursiva Antiquior* that developed towards the middle of the thirteenth century was named *Anglicana* by Parkes.[47]

Anglicana is the name given to English *Cursiva Antiquior*.[48] It is the only case in which documentary *Cursiva Antiquior* develops into a canonical book script, something that it is visible from the middle of the thirteenth century, consolidating from c.1270 and lasting until the sixteenth century.[49] *Anglicana* as a book script – an adaptation of the handwriting of documents - is bold and retains characteristics from documentary handwriting like 'certain downward diagonal strokes, such as in **d** and other letters, and in the cursive **r**-abbreviation'.[50] From the middle of the thirteenth century and until the early fourteenth century *anglicana* slopes slightly to the left, displaying prominent approach strokes (as in tironian *et*) rather than end strokes.[51] However, the most recognisable features of this script are the ascenders of **b**, **g**, **k** and **l**.[52] The treatment of ascenders shows from c.1250 some exaggeration for calligraphic effect: they can be bold, beginning with a loop to the right with an added horn to the left and a visible hairline; or they can be markedly forked.[53] In early examples of this script a hairline can be found duplicating the top of the ascender in **f** and vertical **s**.[54] Other relevant features are caroline **a** with a large upper lobe, looping **d**, small 8-like **g**, long **r** and sigma-like double-curve **s**.[55] The development of *anglicana* as a book script in England influences the appearance of some of the hands described in Paris's manuscripts and of Paris's hand itself, particularly in relation to hairlines and approach strokes.

The script of Matthew Paris is neither *textualis* nor cursive, but somewhere in between. It tends to be more cursive than *textualis* – and glosses or marginalia are much more cursive – but there is also a formal intention behind the main texts. Paris's hand defies a definite label and rather shifts between categories. Following Derolez's classification – based on Lieftinck's – Paris's script would fall somewhere between *textualis* and *hybrida*, as his **a** is found in round and caroline types; **b**, **h**, **k** and **l** only occasionally show loops to the right,

[47] Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, xvi.
[48] Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands,* xvi; Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 135.
[49] Parkes, 'Handwriting in English Books', 130-1; *English Cursive Book Hands*, xiv; Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 134.
[50] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 135; Cherubini and Pratesi, *Paleografia latina*, 502.
[51] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 136.
[52] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 136; Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 142.
[53] Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 142; Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, xv.
[54] Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, xv.
[55] Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, xiv-xv; Cherubini and Pratesi, *Paleografia latina*, 502-3.

and **f** and **s** do not descend below the baseline.[56] Even though Derolez's category Northern *hybrida* is the closest to Paris's hand (with straight **f** and **s** and no loops for **b**, **h**, **k** and **l**), Paris does not employ the two types of **a**, therefore not allowing for an straightforward identification.[57] Paris's hand displays some Anglicana features, such as the use of 8-like **g**, of a looping ascender in uncial **d**, and of markedly forked ascenders. These features are used in 3.c to create a chronology of Paris's manuscripts, as their use points to a production date beyond 1250.

b. The evolution of Matthew Paris's hand: a quantitative survey

The extraordinary variability in Paris's hand described above points to the evolution of the hand through time. In his active years, Paris's hand developed, matured and naturally aged, offering us an opportunity to chart these changes through the manuscript corpus. Some manuscripts, like BL Cotton MS Nero D I, contain what clearly are instances of Paris's hand at different moments in his life, whilst others show a clear chronological difference between the main text and the annotations.[58] A new approach to this question will be suggested here using quantitative and comparative analysis of the manuscripts in the corpus, based on the analysis of letterforms, abbreviation and punctuation, and on the average angles of the pen in relation to the baseline, as well as the relative angle of some strokes within the letterform and the angle of writing in relation to the baseline.[59] This quantitative assessment is presented in alphabetical order.

Letter **a** presents a great variety of forms in Matthew Paris's hand, although its basic features remain usually consistent (Figure 3.9). Double-compartment and round **a** coexist in all instances of Paris's hand, although with a clear preference for the former. As mentioned above, the head of double-compartment **a** is one of the defining characteristics of Paris's script. However, the extent of this 'exaggerated' feature and its shape and relative and baseline angles change through time. In fact, there are two types of double-compartment **a** present in Paris's hand: one with a 'regular' open head, kept at minim-height or slightly above; and one with the recognisable large head. They both appear alongside each other and allow for separate analysis.

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[56] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 130.
[57] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 131, 163-4.
[58] This is particularly so in CCCC MS 26 (*Chronica Majora* I).
[59] Gilissen, *L' expertise*, 15-16; see chapter 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus.

'Regular' open-head **a** is the most common type in Paris's hand, and it is defined here as the double-compartment **a** with a head-stroke less than double minim height. Between different manuscripts, and within the same manuscript, there are changes in the way the strokes are joined and also in the angle and height of the head-stroke. On the other hand, the 'large-headed' **a**, although less typical, is instantly recognisable, with changes in the height and angle of the head-stroke, the way the stroke closes and the shape, angle and closeness of the lobe. It is distinguished as having a head-stroke double the minim height.

Images removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 3.9. Examples of 'regular' and 'large' open-head **a** in Paris's hand.[60]

As detailed above (3.a), the particularly long head-stroke is a symptom of a less formal execution, and thus the changes in balance between 'regular' and 'large-headed' head-stroke can shed light on how Paris's script changed depending on the level of formality of the text.[61] By obtaining averages of occurrence of both types – based on the annotations made on MParisPal throughout each manuscript in the corpus – it is possible to see which manuscripts were written in a more formal hand (Figures 3.10 and 3.11). However, there are three issues with the chart below: firstly, the ascending order of the manuscripts below does not coincide with Vaughan's periodisation of the manuscripts; secondly, the chart does not show how the balance between types of double-compartment **a** changes within each manuscript; and lastly, not all manuscripts contain samples of Paris's handwriting all the way through, as other scribes participate in a varying degree (this is particularly true of CUL Dd 11 78, ChL MS 6712, CCCC MS 26 and BL Cotton MS Nero D I).

[60] Sources: 'Regular' open-head **a**: CCCC MS 26 (128rb23), BL Cotton MS Nero D I (25rb15), ChL MS 6712 (170vb11), CUL Dd 11 78 (1ra14), BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va7), TCD MS 177 (28va26), BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va12); 'Large' open-head **a**: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra1), BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII, f. 133 (133va12), BL Cotton MS Nero D I (40va1), CCCC MS 16 II (284va1), CCCC MS 26 (127ra10 and 128rb15) and CUL Dd 11 78 (ara7 and 57ra1).
[61] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 125.

Manuscript	Average percentage of 'regular' open-head a[62]	Average percentage of 'large' open-head a
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	93%	7%
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	60%	40%
BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133	43%	57%
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	92%	8%
CCCC MS 16 II	93%	7%
CCCC MS 26	54%	46%
CCCO MS 2	89%	11%
CUL Dd 11 78[63]	68%	32%
ChL MS 6712	93%	7%
TCD MS 177	93%	7%

3.10. Average percentages of 'regular' and 'large' open-head **a** throughout the corpus.

What the chart above (Figure 3.10) comes to show is that the predominance of a more formal character (that is, the 'regular' open-head double-compartment **a**) is not necessarily related to an earlier date of production, the same way as the use of the more cursive 'large' open-head **a** does not imply a later moment in Paris's life.[64] BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (the only manuscript in which the 'large' **a** is more abundant than the 'regular') is, simply, written more cursively. On the other hand, the chart shows the average proportion of these types, but not how they are distributed within each manuscript. CCCC MS 16 II, for instance, shows the highest concentration of 'large' **a** in the annotations made towards the end of the manuscript (284v), with nearly 50% of all **a** being 'large', followed closely by BL Cotton MS Nero D I. This contrasts with annotations made earlier in the manuscript, where seven out of ten analysed leaves do not contain any 'large' **a**. Another example is CCCC MS 26, where 53% of all **a** are large and occur in the final part of Paris's section of the manuscript (127r/v and 128r/v). Similarly, TCD MS 177 shows all of its

[62] See chapter 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus: Quantitative methods.
[63] Results from the analysis of forty-seven annotations in four leaves: ar, 1r, 150v and 238v.
[64] See chapter 3.c Matthew Paris's manuscripts: a chronology.

large-headed double-compartment **a** in the annotations made at the beginning of the manuscript, corresponding with an informal piece of text.

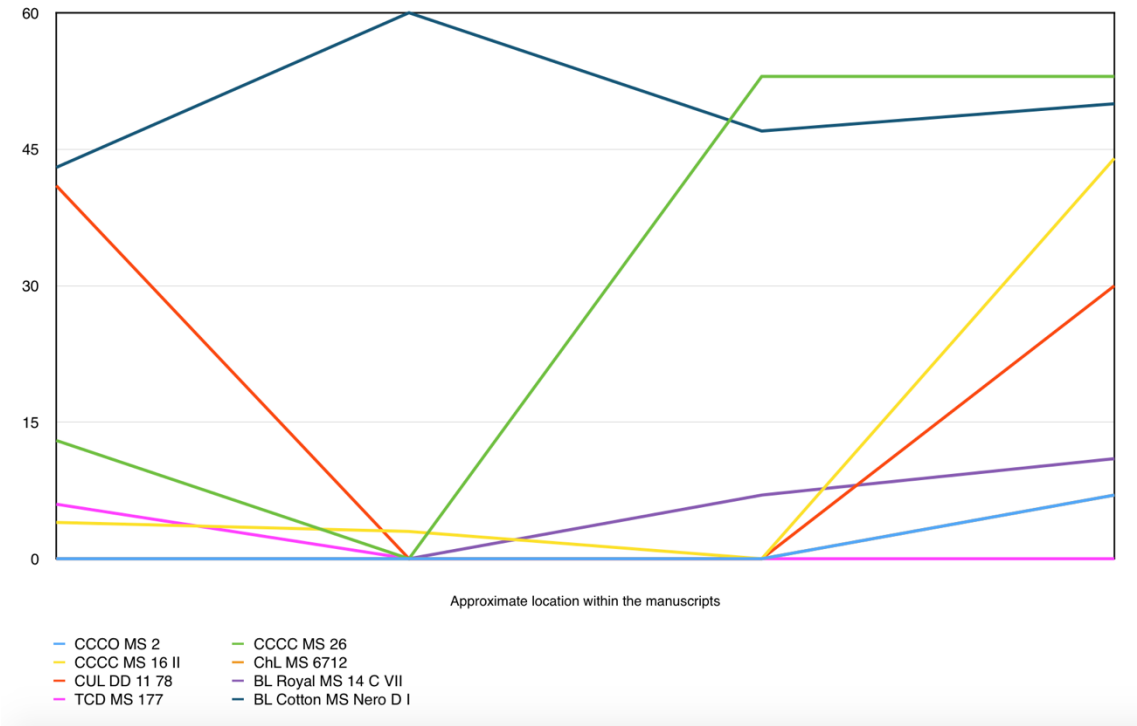

Figure 3.11. Use of 'large' double-compartment **a** in the corpus.

The above graph (Figure 3.11) represents the approximate proportion of 'large' open-headed **a** across the manuscripts, and it shows a general tendency to employ 'large' open-headed **a** towards the last sections of the manuscripts.[65] The two manuscripts (CCCC MS 26 and CUL Dd 11 78) that start with a high proportion of large **a** contain added material at the front (a calendar in MS 26 and a list of contents in Dd II 78).[66] Regardless of when they were made, the hand became more cursive towards the end of the manuscript, which shows how Paris progressively tired, shifted towards a more 'natural' way of writing or sped up. Manuscripts considered by Vaughan to have been written before 1250 show a clear spike in the frequency of large **a** towards their final leaves, whilst others he considered to be later manuscripts like BL Royal MS 14 C VII or ChL MS 6712 show a greater balance

[65] This graph has been created by dividing the manuscripts in four equal parts, and then calculating the average percentage of 'large' **a** in each part using the annotated samples on MParisPal. BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 has been excluded as it only has one leaf and progression cannot be shown.
[66] A description of these manuscripts is found in chapter 4.a Description of scribal hands.

between types of **a**.[67] BL Cotton MS Nero D I displays a high proportion of large **a** throughout the whole manuscript, which is exceptional in comparison with the rest of the corpus. TCD MS 177, on the other hand, displays a low number of 'large' open-headed **a** at the start of the manuscript – corresponding with an informal text in 2v - with no observed examples in the rest of the manuscript. The feet of **a** have also been traced across the corpus in order to find any possible trend or changes through time.[68] Overall, the highest percentage of footed **a** appears in CCCO MS 2 (100%), CCCC MS 16 II (96%), ChL MS 6712 (93%) and TCD MS 177 (92%), followed by CCCC MS 26 (80%), BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (73%) and BL Royal MS 14 C VII (71%). CUL Dd 11 78 (66%), BL Cotton Vespasian B XIII (60%) and BL Cotton MS Nero D I (35%) are those with the lowest number of footed **a**, and of course the largest percentage of non-footed **a**.

The above data (Figures 3.10 and 3.11) show a few relevant aspects that become even more significant when put together with the whole body of evidence of the seventeen characters selected for analysis in the corpus. These will be discussed in alphabetical order. Firstly, and as expected, 'regular' open-head **a** seems to be employed most in manuscripts that are more formal (ChL MS 6712, CCCC MS 16 II, BL Royal MS 14 C VII, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, TCD MS 177 and BL Cotton MS Nero D I). Secondly, the above analysis shows how the balance between types of **a** shifts throughout the manuscripts, with more frequent 'large' open-headed **a** being used in the final sections of most, the exception being TCD MS 177, charting individual processes of 'cursivisation' of the hand towards the end of the copying process.

Round **a**, although also numerous within the corpus, presents less of a variety (Figure 3.12).[69] In general terms, there is a mirroring of the situation with regular and large double-compartment **a**. The general trend is that there are fewer instances of round **a** towards the end of individual manuscripts, just where large **a** is more numerous.[70] This trend is followed by most of the manuscripts in the corpus, except for BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133, which is just a leaf that cannot be compared to other instances; and CUL Dd 11 78, where the distribution of types of **a** remains relatively stable throughout. However,

[67] A discussion of Vaughan's chronology can be found in chapter 3.c Matthew Paris's manuscripts: a chronology.
[68] Percentages from MParisPal annotations in different areas of the manuscripts.
[69] See chapter 3.a The hand of Matthew Paris.
[70] The present order of the manuscripts is not necessarily its original order. The Cotton and Parker manuscripts have been altered, as discussed when describing each manuscript in chapter 4.a Description of scribal hands.

as with the figures above, Paris's hand appears only at the start and at the end of this manuscript (ar, 1r, 150v and 238v). Despite this consistency, the straightness of the back, whether the lobe is open or closed and the overall roundness of the letter, present different characteristics throughout the corpus. Through the annotations on MParisPal, accessible through the links to the lightbox collections, it can be seen that the shape of **a** differs significantly throughout the corpus: only two manuscripts display mostly open round **a** (BL Royal MS 14 C VII and BL Vespasian B XIII f. 133), while straight backs are mostly observed in CCCC MS 16 II, ChL MS 6712, CCCO MS 2, BL Royal MS 14 C VII, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, BL Cotton MS Nero D I and TCD MS 177.[71] The overall appearance of the letter is rounder in BL Royal MS 14 C VII, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133. However, it is generally angular, forming a triangular shape in most cases.

Images removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 3.12. Samples of round **a** in Paris's hand.[72]

The most idiosyncratic element of letter **b** in the hand of Matthew Paris is the ascender, which is most of the time not straight, but slightly wavy (Figure 3.13). However, throughout the corpus there are differences in the way this wave is executed. This, together with the treatment of the top of the ascenders and the openness and shape of the bowl suggest an interesting chronological progression of the letter. The ascender of **b** tends to curve inwards from the base, and then turning outwards again, in a tendency described by Vaughan as 'a twisted appearance', similarly to vertical, 'broken-back' **s**.[73] This does not mean there are not instances of straight vertical ascenders, which are indeed commonplace in some of the manuscripts. There is a predominance of vertical ascenders in the annotated samples of CCCC MS 26 and CUL Dd 11 78, particularly in the annotations made in the early section of the manuscript. In these two manuscripts the curvature of the ascenders also starts to appear, particularly in the samples located towards the end of the text. In

[71] The direct links to the collections of characteristic letterforms are: https://goo.gl/YsTXbQ (BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI); https://goo.gl/1tF4jM (BL Royal MS 14 C VII); https://goo.gl/2haVte (BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133); https://goo.gl/kFzmLD (CCCO MS 2); https://goo.gl/MKo59A (ChL MS 6712); https://goo.gl/7bLxaW (CCCC MS 26); https://goo.gl/jPQ8m7 (CUL Dd 11 78); and https://goo.gl/8BHqrF (TCD MS 177).
[72] Sources: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra13), BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va1), BL Cotton MS Nero D I (184va19), CCCC MS 26 (127va21), CUL Dd 11 78 (ara22), ChL MS 6712 (170vb19), BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va16) and TCD MS 177 (39ra4).
[73] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 386.

these cases, the curve is subtle and inwards, still far from wavy. TCD MS 177, however, only displays straight ascenders.

A second group of manuscripts display more sinuous ascenders, together with examples of vertical and curved ones. In these groups we may include CCCC MS 16 II, ChL MS 6712 and CCCO MS 2. In CCCC MS 16 II we find a transition from straight to curved ascenders. The curved examples are mostly not particularly pronounced, with only a few examples of a twisted shape. ChL MS 6712, as in the previous example, is balanced in the treatment of ascenders, although it shows a clear tendency to a vertical **s**-like shape and has less examples of straight vertical ascenders. Lastly, CCCO MS 2 displays 50% of its **b** with a straight ascender and 50% with a curved one.

The third and last group of manuscripts in relation to the twisting of the ascenders of **b** includes BL Cotton MS Nero D I, BL Royal MS 14 C VII, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133. BL Royal MS 14 C VII contains very few straight ascenders, and a large proportion of them are twisted, even though they are not particularly pronounced. The same could be said of BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI and of BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133. Overall, even though they are the manuscripts with the highest proportion of twisted ascenders, the twist of the ascender is not particularly pronounced, unlike other letters with twisted ascenders like vertical **s**.

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Figure 3.13. Examples of letter **b** in in the corpus.[74]

Letter **d** shows different levels of formality throughout the manuscript, from diagonal long ascenders to hooked cursive versions (Figure 3.14). In order to chart the evolution of this letterform, average angles in relation to the baseline come into play again, as a way of

[74] Sources: First group: TCD MS 177 (2va22, 10ra7, 28vb18 and b24, 39rb1 and b14, 50ra12; 7ra5, b7 and b11); CUL Dd 11 78 (ara1, a3, a21 and a15; 1ra32 and a26; 150va27; 238vb10 and b16); CCCC MS 26 (virb53; viva8 and b29; 127rb20 and a1; 128ra19 and b11; 128vb5); Second group: CCCC MS 16 II (15rb30, a1 and a13; 66rva44, 94va15, 107rb41 and b36; 140va45 and a7); ChL MS 6712 (170vb31 and b4; 173vb13 and a13; 178ra33, b31 and a44; and 200va23 and a16) and CCCO MS 2 (369rb7, a45, b17, a36, a37, b35, b18, b41 and 340ra40); Third group: BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va31, a1, a36, a3, b17, a10, a30; and 210a42, a23 and a12); BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88rb11, b10, a39, a23, b5, a27, a3, a27, a28 and a8); BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII, f. 133 (133va17, a9, a2, a31 and a10); and BL Cotton MS Nero D I (2va13, 9rb15, 27rb1, 184va22 and 184va37).

checking if and how the ascender of **d** changes throughout the corpus. When measuring the angle between the ascender and the baseline there is a remarkable consistency between manuscripts. The same is true of the angle of writing, calculated from the average width of the stroke and the angle of the ascender in relation to the baseline, following Gilissen's guidelines.[75]

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Figure 3.14. Samples of **d** with straight, curved and closed ascenders.[76]

[75] Gilissen, *L'expertise,* 15-16; See 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus, Quantitative methods.

[76] Sources: Top line: BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va14); CCCC MS 26 (127ra13); ChL MS 6712 (170vb6 and b32); CCCO MS 2 (369ra36); BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88rb14 and a37); CUL Dd 11 78 (ara4); and CCCC MS 16 II (46ra52, 37vb41) and BL Royal MS 14 C VII (210ra42). Second line: CCCC MS (128v26a4); CCCO MS 2 (369ra38); BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra1); CUL Dd 11 78 (ara2); TCD MS 177 (77ra11); BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va1); and BL Cotton MS Nero D I (2vb8). Third line: CCCC MS 16 II (15rb50); CCCC MS 26 (128ra8); ChL MS 6712 (200va12); CUL Dd 11 78 (238va7); BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va2); and BL Cotton MS Nero D I (82rb22).

Manuscript	Average angle of the ascender in relation to the baseline[77]	Average angle of writing[78]
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	41° (23-50°)	44° (39-53°)
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	35° (30-45°)	42° (38-47°)
BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133	33° (12-48°)	46° (42-50°)
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	41° (21-56°)	37° (34-43°)
CCCC MS 16 II	39° (22-53°)	43° (37-46°)
CCCC MS 26	40° (30-47°)	40° (33-55°)
CCCO MS 2	37° (26-45°)	44° (41-53°)
CUL Dd 11 78	45° (31-58°)	45° (40-58°)
ChL MS 6712	41° (30-54°)	42° (34-51°)
TCD MS 177	47° (32-59°)	44° (33-56°)

Figure 3.15. Average angles (ascenders and angle of writing) in **d** across the corpus.

The evidence above (Figure 3.15) does not coincide with the trends of previous letterforms, or at least not fully. Those manuscripts considered earliest by Vaughan display ascender angles of 39-47° (TCD MS 177, CUL Dd 11 78, CCCC MS 16 and CCCC MS 26), whilst the middle groups range between 33-41°. The writing angle, on the other hand, remains relatively constant throughout. Its highest values are from an informal manuscript (CUL Dd 11 78) and the manuscript where a scribe takes over from Paris close to his death (BL Royal MS 14 C VII), which supports the 'cursivisation' idea. At the other end of the spectrum, TCD MS 177 shows both the highest average angle of ascenders, and the lowest writing angle.

[77] Average calculated by measuring twenty samples for each manuscript.
[78] Average calculated by measuring twenty samples for each manuscript.

One of the most characteristic of Paris's letterforms, **e**, does not change significantly throughout the corpus (Figures 3.16 and 3.17). The upper stroke and the tongue are usually joined at a sharp angle, and sometimes both are disjointed from the lower curve. The tongue is generally found in an upward angle, whilst the roundness of the letter is kept throughout the corpus. The elements that change, even if subtly, are the join between lower curve and upper stroke, the angle of the upper stroke and the length of the tongue. In order to trace these changes, a quantitative analysis on the MParisPal annotations has been carried out. In order to calculate the average angle of the upper stroke, the angle has been calculated in relation to the writing line.

Manuscript	**Joined/Disjointed upper stroke**	**Average angle of upper stroke**	**Long/Short tongue**
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	93% / 7%	70°	7% / 93%
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	86% / 14%	67°	20% / 80%
BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133	93% / 7%	71°	33% / 67%
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	92% / 8%	71°	8% / 92%
CCCC MS 16 II	84% / 16%	77°	4% / 96%
CCCC MS 26	97% / 3%	70°	4% / 96%
CCCO MS 2	89% / 11%	73°	5% / 95%
CUL Dd 11 78	85% / 15%	79°	35% / 65%
ChL MS 6712	95% / 5%	71°	2% / 98%
TCD MS 177	96% / 4%	71°	13% / 87%

Figure 3.16. Proportions of three differentiating elements in letter **e** across the corpus.

The chart above (Figure 3.16) shows a general homogeneity in the corpus in the way **e** is drawn. However, there is a relationship between **e** with a disjointed upper stroke, that upper stroke being close to a vertical line, and an almost total absence of long tongue. In other words, when **e** is more disjointed, there are more possibilities for a sharp angle in the upper stroke and the tongue tends to be shorter. Both CUL Dd 11 78 and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (one a personal compilation, the other a single document) are the ones which display most occurrences of long-tongue **e**, which is logical given their more

cursive nature. Following the more cursive elements of the letter (not only the long tongue, but also the disjointed upper stroke and the open angle) there is an interesting connection. Those manuscripts with the highest proportion of disjointed **e** (CUL Dd 11 78, BL Cotton MS Nero D I, CCCC MS 26 and CCCO MS 2) are also those with the average angles closest to a vertical stroke. On the other hand, if the manuscripts are ordered by the average proportion of long tongues, excluding CUL Dd 11 78 and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133, and ranking the others from low to high in order of frequency, we have a clear progression: ChL MS 6712, CCCC MS 26, CCCC MS 16 II, CCCO MS 2, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, BL Royal MS 14 C VII, TCD MS 177 and BL Cotton MS Nero D I. Other elements are more complicated to trace as their average occurrence oscillates in very close percentages across the manuscript.

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Figure 3.17. Samples of long-tongue, disjointed and regular **e**.[79]

Overall, the evidence above shows, on the one hand, a clear change in relation to the increase of **e** with long tongue (Figure 3.16). On the other hand, it shows a relationship between disjointed **e** and more vertical angles of the upper stroke. Lastly, it also shows a clear divide between CUL Dd 11 78, BL Cotton MS Nero D I, BL Cotton MS Vespasian B

[79] Sources: Long-tongue **e**: BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII, f. 133 (133va20, a21 and a18); CUL Dd 11 78, (ara6, 1ra19 and 238vb13). Disjointed **e**: CCCC MS 26 (127ra46 and 128ra15); CCCO MS 2 (369rb30); CUL Dd 11 78 (ara2 and 238va17); BL Cotton MS Nero D I, 184va26). Regular **e**: ChL MS 6712 (170vb4 and 200va7); CCCC MS 26 (127ra17); CCCC MS 16 II (107ra31 and 140vb43); CCCO MS 2 (369ra39 and b4); BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88rb3 and b1); BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va19).

XIII f. 133, and the other manuscripts, as they show a higher proportion of cursive elements.

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Figure 3.18. Samples of 8-like, trapezoidal and long-tailed **g**.[80]

Letter **g**, together with double-compartment **a**, is one of the most recognisable letterforms in Paris's hand (Figure 3.18). It can present three basic shapes: 8-like, trapezoidal and the rather recognisable long-tailed **g**. This last form, although it defines the look of Paris's hand, is not by any means more common than the other types. As shown below (Figure 3.19), a quantitative approach shows that the presence of long-tailed **g** oscillates between none to 27%, with the highest concentrations in ChL MS 6712, BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133, CUL Dd 11 78 and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI. TCD MS 177, the three

[80] Sources: 8-like **g**: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra18); CCCC MS 16 II (15rb13); BL Cotton MS Nero D I (2vb2); CCCC MS 26 (vivb55 and 127vb4); CCCO MS 2 (369rb48); ChL MS 6712 (170vb12); CUL Dd 11 78 (ara11); BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va9); TCD MS 177 (10rb32). Trapezoidal **g**: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra18); CCCC MS 16 II (107ra46); CCCC MS 26 (127ra32 and 128vb19); CCCO MS 2 (369ra39); ChL MS 6712 (173vb9); CUL Dd 11 78 (1ra21); BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va20); TCD MS 177 (39ra7). Long-tailed **g**: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88rb29 and a41); CCCC MS 16 II (94va38); CCCC MS 26 (127vb8 and 128ra8); ChL MS 6712 (178rb44); CUL Dd 11 78 (ara12); BL Royal MS 14 C VII (210ra12); BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII, f. 133 (133va15); BL Cotton MS Nero D I (27ra7).

manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora*; the Oxford Bible and BL Cotton MS Nero D I are those with the lowest occurrence of this type of **g**, arguably because they are the most formal of the corpus.

Manuscript	**Presence of long g**
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	27%
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	9%
BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133	20%
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	5%
CCCC MS 16 II	2%
CCCC MS 26	5%
CCCO MS 2	0%
CUL Dd 11 78	26%
ChL MS 6712	11%
TCD MS 177	2%

Figure 3.19. Chart showing the presence of long **g** throughout the corpus.

Manuscript	**Presence of 8-like g**	**Presence of trapezoidal g**
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	73%	0%
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	58%	33%
BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133	13%	67%
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	67%	29%
CCCC MS 16 II	80%	19%
CCCC MS 26	72%	23%
CCCO MS 2	38%	63%
CUL Dd 11 78	21%	53%
ChL MS 6712	25%	61%
TCD MS 177	70%	28%

Figure 3.20. Chart showing the presence of 8-like and trapezoidal **g** throughout the corpus.

The other two types of **g** – 8-like and trapezoidal – appear in the manuscripts in variable proportions (Figure 3.20). Thus, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, which has the largest

proportion of long **g**, is also the one with no instances of trapezoidal **g**. This can be considered an exception, as the manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora* and TCD MS 177, again, are the ones with the largest amount of 8-like **g**, as they are more formal. However, the manuscript of the Oxford Bible does not follow the trend. It can be said there is not a direct correlation in all cases between the proportion of large **g** and its other, arguably more formal, versions. On the other hand, the considerable difference between BL Cotton MS Nero D I and ChL MS 6712 in the proportion of long **g** (9 to 11%) marks two phases in the evolution of the letter between the first and the last four manuscripts in the chart. Thus, we can distinguish a Phase I of development in CCCO MS 2, CCCC MS 26, CCCC MS 16 II, BL Royal MS 14 C VII, TCD MS 177 and BL Cotton MS Nero D I; and a Phase II in ChL MS 6712, BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133, CUL Dd 11 78 and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, based on the occurrence of long **g**.

As shown when analysing letter **b**, ascenders are a major element of identification in Matthew Paris's hand. It is a feature that also applies to **h**, together with the length and curve of the descender (Figure 3.22). A revealing starting point would be finding out if and how the ascenders evolve from displaying a small fork to a deeply cleft one in the corpus, with the hypothesis that the higher the proportion of cursive elements, the larger the splits of the ascenders (Figure 3.21).

Manuscripts	**Proportion of small or unsplit/large split ascenders in h**
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	0% / 100%
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	15% / 85%
BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133	33% / 67%
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	18% / 82%
CCCC MS 16 II	42% / 58%
CCCC MS 26	23% / 77%
CCCO MS 2	8% / 92%
CUL Dd 11 78	15% / 85%
ChL MS 6712	8% / 92%
TCD MS 177	71% / 29%

Figure 3.21. Proportion of small and large split ascenders in **h**.

All the manuscripts with a percentage of large split ascenders higher than 80% fit in Vaughan's chronology of Paris's manuscripts.[81] However, there is not a major difference in the percentage of large split ascenders between those manuscripts and the previous three (CCCC MS 16 II, BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 and CCCC MS 26). In relation to the length and curve of the descender, both long and short, curved and more straight versions can be found throughout, although there is a clear preference for curved, long descenders. Overall, the proportion of large splits throughout the corpus increases in approximate alignment with Vaughan's categorisation. As with the consideration of previous characters, TCD MS 177 gives slightly different proportions, as it is the one with the highest percentage of small or non-existing split ascenders. The only important difference between Vaughan's chronology and the above data concerns CUL Dd 11 78, which shows a high proportion of large splits, even though Vaughan considered it to be an early manuscript, which is also related to the use of the manuscript as a personal – and therefore, more cursive – compilation.

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Figure 3.22. Samples of short-split, non-split and large-split **h**.[82]

As described above (3.a), vertical **s** displays a protrusion to the left of the ascender that gives the letter a 'broken-back appearance', following Vaughan's description.[83] This characteristic is found across all manuscripts in the corpus, although in variable numbers (Figure 3.24). As with **b**, the shaft of vertical **s** can also be wavy, together with the broken back, so a distinction can be made between straight broken-back and wavy broken-back **s**. Through the annotations in MParisPal, a trend towards wavy ascenders can be observed: a first group (TCD MS 177, CUL Dd 11 78, CCCC MS 16 II and BL Cotton MS Vespasian

[81] See chapter 3.c Matthew Paris's manuscripts: a chronology.
[82] Sources: Short and non-split **h**: CCCC MS 16 II (140vb4 and 284va29); CCCC MS 26 (vivb20); CUL Dd 11 78 (238va15); TCD MS 177 (10ra11 and 39ra6); BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII, f. 133 (133va22); BL Cotton MS Nero D I (40vb4). Large-split **h**: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra17); CCCC MS 16 II (15ra1); CCCC MS 26 (127va48 and 128vb6); ChL MS 6712, 170v; CUL Dd 11 78 (ara16 and 238va18); TCD MS 177 (2va19); BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII, f. 133 (133va26); CCCO MS 2 (369ra36).
[83] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 386.

B XIII f. 133) shows a majority of straight vertical **s**, with low numbers of wavy instances; a second group (BL Cotton MS Nero D I, ChL MS 6712, CCCC MS 26 and CCCO MS 2) shows a moderate majority of wavy shafts; and a last group (BL Royal MS 14 C VII and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI) overwhelmingly display wavy shafts (Figure 3.23). If we compare the two extremes – 0% versus 100% wavy shafts – there is an absolute take over of the wavy shaft in a certain number of manuscripts. The groups are relatively similar to those observed for the evolution of the ascender of **b**, as discussed above. It is also significant that TCD MS 177, BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 and CUL Dd 11 78 are amongst those with the lowest proportion of wavy shafts, which indicates this feature is an element of style rather than cursivity.

Manuscript	**Proportion of straight/wavy vertical s**
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	0% / 100%
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	48% / 52%
BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133	60% / 40%
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	8% / 92%
CCCC MS 16 II	64% / 36%
CCCC MS 26	38% / 62%
CCCO MS 2	28% / 72%
CUL Dd 11 78	80% / 20%
ChL MS 6712	43% / 57%
TCD MS 177	100% / 0%

Figure 3.23. Percentages of straight and wavy shafts in vertical **s**.

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Figure 3.24. Samples of straight and wavy vertical **s**.[84]

[84] Sources: Straight vertical **s**: CCCC MS 16 II (46ra33 and 66ra49); CCCC MS 26 (vivb11 and 128rb15); ChL MS 6712 (173vb33); CUL Dd 11 78 (ara22 and 1ra24); TCD MS 177 (2va5 and 39ra2); BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va32); Wavy vertical **s**: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra33); BL Cotton MS

Round **s**, on the other hand, is much less common and does not present much of a variety (Figure 3.25). There are two basic types: round **s** and a cursive form in which the lower curve is a long downward stroke usually ending in a curve. The longer type is dominant in all manuscripts except CCCC MS 16 II and TCD MS 177, where its frequency doubled or more by the full double-curved **s**. There is therefore a tendency to use long double-curve **s** – particularly in more cursive instances like CUL Dd 11 78 and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133, and in CCCO MS 2, where all double-curve **s** are long – except for the manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora*. From these, the tendency is reversed in BL MS Royal 14 C VII and CCCC MS 16 II.

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Figure 3.25. Samples of double-curve **s** with long and with curved downstroke.[85]

The three tironian *notae* described in Paris's hand are, as detailed above (3.a) *et, est* and *con*. All show features that, particularly in the case of *con*, are unique to Paris. Together with the suspension for -b*us* and the general sign of abbreviation, they are the only abbreviation signs which have been described and digitally annotated in Paris's hand in the course of this project as they are the most characteristic and useful when drawing comparison with other scribal hands. The shape of tironian *et* in Paris's hand follows standard practice – 7-like – but there are three morphological aspects that change throughout the corpus: the presence of the crossbar, the treatment of the upper stroke and the way feet are prominently marked. The vast majority of tironian *et* in the annotated samples are uncrossed (Figure 3.27). Examples displaying a crossing horizontal stroke can be found in all manuscripts, but always in small proportion. The only manuscripts in which there is a

Nero D I (27rb32); CCCC MS 16 II (15ra20 and 284vb8); CCCC MS 26 (127ra2 and 128vb9); ChL MS 6712 (178rb42 and 200va26); CUL Dd 11 78 (238va17); BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va13).

[85] Sources: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra18 and a26); CCCC MS 16 II (46rb17 and 107ra17); CCCC MS 26 (127ra9, b2 and b3; 128vb5 and a18); ChL MS 6712 (178rb27); CUL Dd 11 78 (238vb5 and b7); TCD MS 177 (2va1 and a20; 28vb22).

higher proportion of crossed *et* are TCD MS 177 and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133. More specifically, the sample evidence gives the following distribution:

Manuscript	**Crossed/uncrossed**	**Upper stroke**	**Feet**
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	7% / 93%	Wavy	Pronounced
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	16% / 84%	Wavy/Straight/Bent	Pronounced
BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f.133	20% / 80%	Wavy/Straight/Bent	Pronounced
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	7% / 93%	Wavy	Less pronounced
CCCC MS 16 II	11% / 89%	Wavy/Straight	Pronounced
CCCC MS 26	9% / 91%	Straight/Wavy	Pronounced
CCCO MS 2	6% / 94%	Wavy/Straight	Less pronounced
CUL Dd 11 78	6% / 94%	Wavy/Straight/Bent	Pronounced
ChL MS 6712	6% / 94%	Wavy/Straight	Pronounced
TCD MS 177	26% / 74%	Straight/Wavy	Pronounced

Figure 3.26. Occurrence of crossed and uncrossed tironian *et,* the predominance of types of upper stroke and feet.

The upper stroke of *et* also changes within the corpus, as seen above, but only slightly. The usual way in which the top stroke is written – wavy – changes mainly in relation to its degree of waviness, from fully or mostly straight to instances where the stroke is bent forward abruptly. Overall, it seems the distribution of these features points to a higher proportion of bent top strokes in tironian *et* in CUL Dd 11 78, BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133, and towards the end of ChL MS 6712. All annotated instances of tironian *et* in Matthew Paris's hand are footed. In general, feet are long and give the sign an almost z-like appearance. However, in CCCO MS 2 and BL Royal MS 14 C VII feet are less prominent throughout. Changes in tironian *et*, as can be ascertained from the chart and the above observations, are not particularly evident apart from the higher proportion of crossed *et* in TCD MS 177 and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133, and the bent versions of the upper stroke that can be found in the less formal instances of Paris's hand. Therefore, the

relationship between crossed *et* and cursivity, from both samples and observation, is relatively clear. There is a higher proportion of crossed *et* in a cursive document (BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133), but also in others considered more formal like TCD MS 177 and CCCC MS 16 II. The relationship between cursivity and a bent upper stroke is also relevant, as both BL Cotton Vespasian B XIII f. 133 and CUL Dd 11 78 are the manuscripts in which there is a sizable number of bent examples (Figure 3.27).

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Figure 3.27. Samples of uncrossed, crossed and 'bent' *et*.[86]

The next tironian abbreviation, *est*, also remains quite stable throughout the corpus (Figure 3.28). The typical example, as detailed above (3.a) is made up of an upper point, straight divide and a long comma underneath. The only changes that can be observed are in the horizontal cross-stroke, which can be found both in straight and wavy versions. Wavy middle strokes can be found in ChL MS 6712 and CCCO MS 2 (mostly wavy); TCD MS 177, CUL Dd 11 78, CCCC MS 26, CCCC MS 16 II and BL Cotton MS Nero D I (some wavy instances); and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 and BL Royal MS 14 C VII (straight middle stroke). It is worth noting that some of the manuscripts considered by Vaughan to have been produced later in Paris's life (BL Cotton Claudius D VI and BL

[86] Sources: Uncrossed *et*: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88rb12); BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va2); BL Cotton MS Nero D I (184va14); CUL Dd 11 78 (57ra3); CCCC MS 16 II (15ra37 and 140va2); CCCC MS 26 (127vb35). Crossed *et*: BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va4 and a19); CUL Dd 11 78 (ara15); CCCC MS 16 II (94vb7 and 107rb14); CCCC MS 26 (127vb23 and 128ra12). 'Bent' *et*: BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va21); CUL Dd 11 78 (ara17 and 57ra7); ChL MS 6712 (170vb42 and 173vb36); BL Cotton MS Nero D I (25ra14).

Royal MS 14 C VII) are the ones not displaying any wavy middle strokes in tironian *est*, while one also considered by Vaughan to have been written after 1250 (ChL MS 6712) has most of its instances of the abbreviation with a wavy divide. Lastly, it must also be noted that TCD MS 177, ChL MS 6712 and CCCC MS 16 II display a higher number of short commas as a lower stroke.

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Figure 3.28. Samples of straight and wavy middle strokes in tironian *est*.[87]

The last tironian abbreviation to be analysed in Paris's hand is *con*, one of the most characteristic features of his hand (Figure 3.30). The long tail often seen in this abbreviation is highly idiosyncratic, yet its numbers throughout the corpus are not particularly high. The more usual, smaller and rounder version is mostly represented in CCCC MS 16 II. It is also meaningful to divide between two types of long *con*: with or without a loop, that is, if the tail of the abbreviation closes completely, looking like a letter **g**. The long but open *con* appears more frequently than looping *con* in BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI and CCCO MS 2; they are more or less equally represented in ChL MS 6712, CCCC MS 16 II and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f.133; and are outnumbered by looping *con* in BL Cotton MS Nero D I, BL Royal MS 14 C VII, CCCC MS 26 and CUL Dd 11 78.

[87] Sources: Straight middle stroke: BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va4 and a33); CUL Dd 11 78 (238va11); CCCC MS 16 II (94vb21); CCCC MS 26 (127rb48); BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va29); TCD MS 177 (77rb1); BL Cotton MS Nero D I (184va34). Wavy middle strokes: ChL MS 6712 (173va2; 178ra39 and b37); CCCC MS 26 (127rb48); CCCO MS 2 (369rb6); BL Cotton MS Nero D I (27rb17).

Manuscript	**Percentage of long *con***	**Percentage of short *con***
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	100%	0%
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	79%	21%
BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133	60%	40%
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	86%	14%
CCCC MS 16 II	26%	74%
CCCC MS 26	72%	28%
CCCO MS 2	100%	0%
CUL Dd 11 78	86%	14%
ChL MS 6712	93%	7%
TCD MS 177	Not found	Not found

Figure 3.29. Proportion of long and short tironian *con* in the manuscript corpus.

The above chart and the distinction between two types of long tironian *con*, and their distribution in the manuscripts, show that those manuscripts with the largest proportion of long *con* (BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI and CCCO MS 2) are those with the largest proportion of open *con* (Figure 3.29). Short *con* only dominates in CCCC MS 16 II, and is proportionally close to its long counterpart in BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133. All this information can be put together by realising long – looped or not – *con* appears more frequently in BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, CCCO MS 2, ChL MS 6712, BL Royal MS 14 C VII, CUL Dd 11 78 and BL Cotton MS Nero D I. It is relevant that there are no observed instances of *con* in the parts of TCD MS 177 written by Paris, which is due to the language he used, mostly Anglo-Norman.

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Figure 3.30. Samples of long and short tironian *con*.[88]

Apart from tironian *et, est* and *con*, there are two other abbreviation signs that have been described and annotated in Paris's hand: -b*us* and the general sign of abbreviation. Although the suspension for –b*us* is formed by a sign between a semicolon and a number 3, the **b** in the suspended word is also worth describing. Apart from the charts and description presented above, a comparison between the two instances of **b** – followed by the -b*us* suspension or not - is in order. The main changing element in the features of **b** is the ascender, which ranges from straight to twisted. The manuscripts in the corpus were divided above in three groups depending on the twisting of the ascender, from a predominance of straight ascenders to a predominance of twisted ones. In the case of -b*us*, the same categories apply. The same can be said of the forking of the ascenders: they are usually large, with a characteristic added bold stroke, although there are also smaller forked splits and some flatter tops, particularly in the manuscripts of the first group.

The suspension sign of -b*us* is less varied in Paris's hand than the **b**. It is generally written as a semicolon, with the lower comma extending below the baseline (Figure 3.31). The

[88] Sources: Long tironian *con*: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88rb38 and b23); CCCO MS 2 (369rb7 and b21); ChL MS 6712 (170vb37 and 173vb27); BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va4 and 210ra26); CUL Dd 11 78 (ara12 and 238vb15); BL Cotton MS Nero D I (69vb6). Short tironian *con*: BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va29); CCCC MS 16 II (46ra10, 54vb37 and 107ra22); ChL MS 6712 (173vb4); CCCC MS 26 (127vb16); BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va27).

upper point is usually located at mid-height, corresponding with the top of the bowl of **b**. There are minor differences across manuscripts, and within some of them, in the angle and length of the lower comma. However, these longer, shorter, straighter or more curved commas occur simultaneously with the more canonical shape of the sign, which impedes a categorisation. There are fewer instances of a narrow 3-like sign instead of a semicolon. These occur, in minute numbers, in ChL MS 6712 and CCCC MS 16 II; and are the only ones to be found in TCD MS 177. This indicates that in manuscripts where there is a relatively equal representation of straight and twisted ascenders in **b**, sometimes the second section of the abbreviation sign will be written as a narrow number 3, which is more in tune with the collaborating scribal hands.

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Figure 3.31 Samples of semicolon and 3-like -b*us*.[89]

The general sign of abbreviation in Matthew Paris's hand displays several shapes (Figure 3.33). These can be divided in three groups: straight line, convex curve and wave (Figure 3.32). The general sign of abbreviation as a straight line (here classified as Type 1) can be either short or long, thin or thick, although there are almost no instances of thickened straight signs. Secondly, those signs written as a convex curve (henceforth Type 2) are the ones that can display a thickened central section; and lastly, wavy abbreviation signs (Type 3) are those that add an upward curve to an otherwise convex curve. This initial curve can also be flattened, but keeping the final upward flourish.

[89] Sources: Semicolon -b*us*: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra36); BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va22); CUL Dd 11 78 (1ra25); CCCC MS 16 II (15ra20); ChL MS 6712 (173vb36); CCCC MS 26 (127ra48); CCCO MS 2 (369ra35); BL Royal MS 14 C VII (210ra9). 3-like -b*us*: ChL MS 6712 (178ra17); CCCC MS 16 II (50rb27, 140va14 and a39); TCD MS 177 (10ra32); BL Cotton MS Nero D I (69vb48).

Manuscript	Type 1: Straight line	Type 2: Convex curve	Type 3: Wavy line
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	40%	27%	33%
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	30%	27%	43%
BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133	67%	33%	0%
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	32%	36%	32%
CCCC MS 16 II	61%	20%	19%
CCCC MS 26	67%	17%	16%
CCCO MS 2	59%	12%	29%
CUL Dd 11 78	59%	24%	17%
ChL MS 6712	44%	16%	40%
TCD MS 177	94%	4%	2%

Figure 3.32. Percentages of occurrence of three different types of the general sign of abbreviation.

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Images removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 3.33. Samples of types 1, 2 and 3 of the general sign of abbreviation.[90]

As can be deduced from the table above (Figure 3.32), all manuscripts except for two (BL Royal MS 14 C VII and BL Cotton MS Nero D I) show a majority of Type 1 signs of abbreviation. Numbers for Types 2 and 3 are less straightforward: the least represented type is Type 3, except in BL Cotton MS Nero D I, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, ChL MS 6712 and CCCO MS 2. Therefore, the common mark of abbreviation is usually straight, but with quite a noticeable frequency of curved and wavy examples. In BL Cotton MS Nero D I, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, ChL MS 6712 and BL Royal MS 14 C VII numerical differences between types are less clear, which might indicate a tendency or period in time when types were mixed almost in equal proportions. Conversely, TCD MS 177 displays a vast majority of straight types, perhaps pointing to a more formal execution.

Punctuation has been used in this project to characterise and compare scribal hands (4.a Description of scribal hands). The *punctus, punctus elevatus* and *punctus interrogativus* are annotated and analysed in Paris's hand, revealing a certain homogeneity throughout. The analysis of the *punctus* is centred around its height in relationship to the baseline; on the other hand, the *punctus elevatus* is the sign that displays more of a variety, but even then, it is limited to small changes in the curvature of the upper stroke. Lastly, there are few instances of the *punctus interrogativus* – particularly if compared to other characters – all showing similar features. The *punctus* is one of the most difficult characters to annotate digitally, as it can only be described in terms of thickness, shape and distance from the baseline. Annotated samples have been classified in two levels of thickness: regular (equal to the characters around the *punctus*) and heavy; on the other hand, shape is divided in two basic

[90] Sources: Type I: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra21); BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va28); CUL Dd 11 78 (1ra16 and 238vb21); CCCC MS 16 II (54vb39 and 66rb11); ChL MS 6712, 173v and 200v; CCCC MS 26, 127r and 128r; CCCO MS 2, 340r. Type 2: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88rb7); BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va1); CUL Dd 11 78 (ara1); CCCC MS 16 II (15rb17 and 46ra42); ChL MS 6712 (170vb8); CCCC MS 26 (127ra43); BL Royal MS 14 C VII (210ra38); TCD MS 177 (2va12); BL Cotton MS Nero D I (184va41). Type 3: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra32); CUL Dd 11 78 (ara8 and 150va3); CCCC MS 16 II (15rb21 and 284v143); ChL MS 6712 (170vb5); CCCC MS 26 (127vb5); BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va5); CCCO MS 2, 369r; TCD MS 177 (2va1); BL Cotton MS Nero D I (82ra42).

groups: round and diamond-shaped (Figure 3.34). And lastly, distance from the baseline is divided in three basic categories: on the baseline, between the baseline and midpoint, and midpoint. The observation of these features throughout the corpus show the *punctus* is quite a regular character that maintains constant characteristics. Firstly, thickness is generally regular – that is, equal to the surrounding characters. Secondly, the shape tends to be round, except for some diamond-shaped instances in TCD MS 177, ChL MS 6712, CCCO MS 2 and CCCC MS 26. Lastly, the distance of the *punctus* from the baseline also tends to be constant, about a third of the distance between the baseline and the midpoint. Overall, the only element that displays a significant variety is the shape, which is found, in small numbers, in the three manuscripts mentioned above.

Images removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 3.34. Samples of diamond-shaped and round *punctus*.[91]

The two main types of upper stroke in the *punctus elevatus* are those with a tick-like appearance and a straight end and those with a curved end (Figure 3.36). There is a clear predominance of straight or near-straight upper strokes, with samples of BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 and BL Royal MS 14 C VII showing 92% and 90%, respectively (Figure 3.35). The manuscript with the lowest proportion of straight upper strokes is TCD MS 177, with 22%. In this sense, we could distinguish between three groups: BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 and BL Royal MS 14 C VII (90% +); BL Cotton MS Claudius

[91] Sources: Diamond-shaped *punctus*: ChL MS 6712 (170vb28 and b10; and 200va17); CCCO MS 2 (369rb36, b42 and b38); CCCC MS 26 (127va13 and 128rb1). Heavy *punctus*: BL Cotton MS Nero D I (69vb43); CUL Dd 11 78 (1ra14); TCD MS 177 (28vb9); CCCC MS 16 II (284vb40); ChL MS 6712 (173va28); BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra28).

D VI, CUL Dd 11 78 (70-75%); and TCD MS 177, CCCC MS 16 II, CCCC MS 26, ChL MS 6712, BL Cotton MS Nero D I and CCCO MS 2 (20-60%).

Manuscript	***P. Elevatus* with straight upper stroke**	***P. Elevatus* with curved upper stroke**
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	75%	25%
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	43%	57%
BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133	90%	10%
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	92%	8%
CCCC MS 16 II	61%	39%
CCCC MS 26	60%	40%
CCCO MS 2	50%	50%
CUL Dd 11 78	73%	27%
ChL MS 6712	50%	50%
TCD MS 177	22%	78%

Figure 3.35. Distribution of two types of the *punctus elevatus* throughout the corpus.

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Figure 3.36. Samples of the *punctus elevatus* from manuscripts with a 90%+, 70-75% and 50-60% of straight or near-straight ascenders.[92]

The last punctuation marker to be analysed in Paris's hand is the *punctus interrogativus*. It is also a sign, as the *punctus*, that displays a remarkable stability (Figure 3.37). The basic shape of the sign (a point, a convex and a concave curve) is usually written forming a diagonal straight line. The only differences that can be observed in the manuscripts are the curvature of the upper curve and the upper curve protruding over the lower curve. Instances of a markedly rounder upper curve are found in BL Cotton MS Nero D I, CCCC MS 16 II, BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 and CCCC MS 26. Of these, BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 and CCCC MS 26 also display an upper stroke that – as in the case of the split of some ascenders in **b** – protrudes over the end of the lower curve. These instances of the *punctus interrogativus* look, therefore, more like a juxtaposition of opposing curves rather than a narrow and stylised double-curved **s**.

Images removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 3.37. Samples of regular and protruding *punctus interrogativus*.[93]

[92] Sources: 90%+: BL Royal MS 14 C VII (154va16 and b2; and 210ra36); BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (133va17 and a9). 70-75%: BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (88ra23 and b19); CUL Dd 11 78 (ara17, 57ra3 and 238vb23).50-60%: CCCC MS 16 II (46rb41 and 54vb20); CCCC MS 26 (127vb24 and 128ra7); CCCO MS 2 (369rb21 and b14); and ChL MS 6712 (173va29 and 178rb43).

[93] Sources: Regular *punctus interrogativus*: CUL Dd 11 78 (150va8); CCCO MS 2 (369rb9); CCCC MS 26 (127vb27); TCD MS 177 (10rb37); CCCC MS 16 II (107ra20); and BL Cotton MS Nero D I (184va22). Protruding *punctus interrogativus*: BL Cotton MS Vespasian f. 133 (133va3); CCCC MS 26 (127rb28 and 128ra7).

Lastly, another characteristic element of Paris's ascenders, as seen in the discussion of **b**, **h** and vertical **s**, is their open and large forked splits, as can be observed in the samples above (Figures 3.13, 3.22 and 3.24). These appear alongside less forked instances, flat tops and flat tops finished with a diagonal line, although always in small numbers. These forks were formed in a very revealing manner, as we can see in many cases how the additional bold stroke was added. There are not clear changes in the way the ascenders are topped throughout the corpus: large forks are predominant throughout. However, what can be observed is that those marked strokes that make up the fork protruding past the ascender are more common in the last group. The bowl of letter **b** is also another feature that, although it does not change essentially – it is open and angled throughout – becomes larger and more angled from the first to the last group. Overall, palaeographic observation shows a change in the shape of the letter that corresponds – as in the case of double-compartment **a** – to Vaughan's dating of the manuscripts, excluding BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133, which was not dated.

c. Matthew Paris's manuscripts: a chronology

Vaughan's chronology of the manuscripts of Matthew Paris

Vaughan's 'The Handwriting of Matthew Paris' was chiefly concerned with the description of the essential characteristics of Paris's hand and some elements of his average *mise-en-page*. However, he was the first to address, albeit briefly, the ageing of the script, dividing Paris's production into three distinct phases: up until c.1250, 1250-55 and 1256-59, as shown in the chart below.[94] He organised the manuscripts in phases defined below (Figure 3.38) by the general appearance of the script, in an evolution towards the 'coarse and untidy' hand characteristic of Paris's last documents copied in the *Liber Additamentorum*.[95] Thus, the script of the first period is described as 'controlled and regular', and that of the second as Paris's script 'most characteristic form'.[96] Nevertheless, not all of the eighteen manuscript containing Paris's hand were categorised, and six of them (BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133, CCCC MS 385, BL Royal MS 13 D V, BL Royal MS 13 E VI, BL Cotton MS Vitellius A XX and BL Cotton MS Julius D VII) remain undated. Despite the impressionistic nature of his analysis, in recognising the chronological changes in the script

[94] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 388-9.
[95] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 388.
[96] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting'. 388-9.

Vaughan opened an avenue that has not been explored fully since. Overall, Vaughan put forward the idea that most of Paris's manuscripts were produced around or after 1250, although Paris had started producing manuscripts from before 1240. Vaughan's chronology, detailed below (Figure 3.38), has been a starting point in this research, not only with regards to Paris's script but also as a working hypothesis with which to contextualise scribal profiles. It soon became apparent that the way MParisPal allows for the accumulation of specific examples of characters would be also essential in producing a new description of Paris's script and also a new, more detailed, relative chronology of his script.

Phase I (up to c.1250)	**Phase II (1250-1255)**	**Phase III (1256-1259)**
TCD MS 177 (*Vie de Seint Auban,* main text and illumination)	ChL MS 6712 (*Flores Historiarum*)	BL Cotton MS Nero D I (*Liber Additamentorum;* late documents)
CUL Dd 11 78 (Poetry of Henry d'Avranches)	BL MS Royal 14 C VII (*Historia Anglorum*)	BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (*Abbreviatio Chronicorum*)
BdL Ashmole MS 304 (Texts on astrology)	CCCO MS 2 (*Bible*)	BL Royal MS 14 D VII (*Chronica Majora* III)
CCCC MS 26 (*Chronica Majora* I, some notes)	BL MS Royal 4 D VII (*Historia Scholastica*)	
CCCC MS 16 (*Chronica Majora* II, early section)	TCD MS 177 (*Life of St Alban*, notes and flyleaves)	
BL Cotton MS Nero D I (*Liber Additamentorum*; first part of the *Gesta Abbatum*)	CCCC MS 16 (*Chronica Majora* II, later section)	
	BL Cotton MS Nero D I (*Liber Additamentorum*; most of the text)	

3.38 The three phases in Matthew Paris's script according to Vaughan.[97]

Vaughan dated most of the manuscripts containing Paris's hand using textual rather than palaeographical evidence (Figure 3.38). Thus, the manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora,*

[97] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 388-89.

Historia Anglorum, Liber Additamentorum and other contents of BL Cotton MS Nero D I, *Flores Historiarum, Abbreviatio Chronicorum* and most of the lives of Saints (Alban, Edmund, Edward and Thomas) are given tentative dates or chronological periods based on the dates of what is being copied and the textual relationship between manuscripts. Of this body of evidence, which is being incorporated together with the palaeographical evidence, there is one particular text copied in the *Liber Additamentorum* that is being used as the starting point of this analysis: on f.82r there is a document dated March 1259 in Paris's hand, which is the document with the date closest to the approximate date of his death.[98] On the other side of the spectrum is TCD MS 177, which contains the Anglo-Norman *Vie de Seint Auban*, which is, according to Vaughan, the earliest example of Paris's hand.[99] The only palaeographic elements Vaughan used to trace the evolution of Paris's hand are **d**, **e**, **g** and tironian *con*. To illustrate the way these characters evolved, Vaughan compared TCD MS 177 and BL Royal MS 14 C VII, finding the Dublin manuscript has a lower proportion of long ascenders of uncial **d** than the Royal manuscript; that the Dublin manuscript does not show long **g** or tironian *con*; and that **e** is generally not pointed in the Dublin manuscript, as opposed to BL Royal MS 14 C VII.[100] Taking TCD MS 177 and BL Cotton MS Nero D I as starting points, the aim of this analysis of the evolution of Paris's script is to provide a fuller account of the changes in his hand and to incorporate into it the undated manuscripts mentioned above, thus testing and adding specificity to Vaughan's hypothesis. Some of those manuscripts, however, are not part of the corpus analysed in MParisPal (BL Royal MS 13 D V, BL Royal MS 13 E VI, BL Cotton MS Vitellius A XX and BL Cotton MS Julius D VII). In these cases, the conclusions of this project will allow in the future for a comparison that might give them a clearer dating.

This chapter has provided a description of the hand of Matthew Paris (3.a), and a quantitative survey aimed at taking the identification of the hand one step further, as well as evidence of changes in the hand through time (3.b). However, the ageing of the hand must not be understood as a linear 'evolution'. Instead of expecting letterforms, punctuation and abbreviation to display a more cursive and 'careless' appearance as Paris aged, all the measurements have been interpreted in relation to one another, with the objective of finding patterns of change and/or stability in the corpus as a whole. This approach has been aided by external data that help establishing a chronological frame.

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[98] *'Haec est nova provisio magnatum Angliae'* (*CM,* VI, 496); Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 10.
[99] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 177.
[100] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 388.

This data has taken the shape of three assumptions on which this proposed chronology is based: the established chronology of Paris's first and last manuscripts; the changes to tironian *et* from the end of the twelfth century; and the influence of the developing Anglicana and of other cursive characteristics in Paris's script.

The basis for a new chronology: datable palaeographic features

As seen in the Appendix, Vaughan established an approximate chronology for the manuscripts of Matthew Paris, based mostly on textual evidence. TCD MS 177, the manuscript containing the *Vie de Seint Auban*, is considered by Vaughan to be the earliest containing Paris's hand, and for the reasons discussed below he places it before 1240. Indeed, he opens up the possibility of an even earlier date of production, in the 1220s or 1230s.[101] This date would make this manuscript also the earliest of Paris's hagiographies. Vaughan's criteria for dating the *Vie de Seint Auban* are three: first, that the aspect of the handwriting is the tidiest in Paris's manuscripts; and second, that Paris could not have possibly had time to produce the manuscript later, when he was working on his historical manuscripts; and lastly, that Paris's other hagiographies (St Thomas, St Edward and St Edmund) are more confidently dated through textual evidence to after 1240.[102] Vaughan's dating of the Dublin manuscript is not universally accepted: Wogan-Browne and Fenster suggest in their recent edition of the *Vie de Seint Auban*, that the manuscript – or elements of it – could have been produced between 1240 and 1250; Binski bases a dating for the *Vie* to after 1243 on the dedication of the manuscript.[103] Although the evidence is not conclusive, it is probable that TCD MS 177 is amongst the earliest manuscripts written by Matthew Paris.

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[101] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 177.

[102] The dating of these hagiographies is based on the relationships between the Latin and Anglo-Norman versions of the Life of St Edmund. The Latin version is dated to 1247-53, as it includes a letter by Richard Wych on the translation of St Edmund, dated to June 1247; and also because it mentions Blanche of Castile as still living (she died in 1253). The Anglo-Norman version is dated after 1253 because the reference to Blanche of Castile was altered to reflect her passing. The Anglo-Norman lives of St Thomas and St Edward were, according to Vaughan, written at the same time, also between 1247 and 1253, because they are referred to as being part of the same manuscript in a note on a flyleaf of TCD MS 177; and because the life of St Edward was presented to Queen Eleanor (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 165, 176-8; 1.b Life, works and manuscripts of Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259)).

[103] Wogan-Browne and Fenster, *The Life of St Alban*, 19-20; P. Binski, 'Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries and Matthew Paris's Life of St Edward the Confessor', *Archaeologia* 109 (1991), 81-100. The illustrations of the *Vie de Seint Auban* have been dated closer to 1250 than to 1240, pointing at a possible production through a long period of time, from 1240 or before up to 1250 (Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, I, 85).

Establishing which of the manuscripts in Vaughan's handlist is Paris's last poses an important difficulty. If several of his texts were being copied and created at around the same time – as it happens with BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, BL Royal MS 14 C VII and BL Cotton MS Nero D I – then it is more convenient to discuss Paris's last stints within the manuscripts in the corpus rather than just a single manuscript. As it has been discussed above (1.b, 1.c), Vaughan identified a document copied into the *Liber Additamentorum* as the last in Paris's hand, from March 1259 (82r, *'Haec est nova provisio magnatum Angliae publicata apud Novum Templum mense Martio, anno regni regis Henrici III xliii*…').[104] When discussing Paris's hand, Vaughan considered three manuscripts to contain the last texts copied by Paris between 1256 and 1259: BL Cotton MS Nero D I, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI and BL Royal MS 14 C VII. Apart from the text in the *Liber Additamentorum* detailed above, these 'last texts' include the whole of BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (*Abbreviatio Chronicorum*) and the last part of BL Royal MS 14 C VII (*Chronica Majora III*). In comparison with TCD MS 177, there is more specific evidence with regards to the last document copied in Paris's hand, namely the date of the copied document in BL Cotton MS Nero D I. On MParisPal there are 125 annotations on 82r, which will be considered separately from the rest of annotations on BL Cotton MS Nero D I.

The second assumption upon which the revised chronology of Paris's manuscripts offered here is based is the evolution of tironian *et*. Scholars have observed there is a change in its morphology by the end of the twelfth century.[105] From then it starts being crossed, with the uncrossed type disappearing almost completely from the end of the thirteenth century onwards, being uncommon from c.1250.[106] Based on this evidence, it can be expected that Paris's hand will display an increasing frequency of crossed *et*, following this general trend. However, it must also be acknowledged that the process of disappearance of the uncrossed type throughout the thirteenth century is by no means predictable, and both crossed and uncrossed et coexist in some contexts.[107]

Lastly, the adaptation and use of Anglicana as a book script – discussed above in 3.a - influenced Paris's script, given three elements that will be fixed in Anglicana when used as a book script later in the thirteenth century can be already observed in the annotations on

[104] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 83.
[105] Capelli, *Dizionario*, 408.
[106] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 96; Parkes, *Handwriting*, 123.
[107] Cencetti, *Lineamenti,* 400.

MParisPal: the use of 8-like **g**, the use of a looping ascender in uncial **d**, and the use of markedly forked ascenders.[108] The use of small two-compartment 8-like **g** is one of the main features of Anglicana, usually standing on the baseline or going just below it.[109] Uncial **d** is dominant throughout the thirteenth century, with vertical **d** almost disappearing entirely from c.1275 in formal books.[110] Uncial **d** in Anglicana displays a distinctive, counter-clockwise loop that often makes it unconnected to the preceding or succeeding letter.[111] Apart from **g** and **d**, Caroline **a** can also display a large head, which is typical of Anglicana but not exclusive.[112] Other characteristic letterforms of Anglicana, such as **r**, vertical and double-curved **s** and **f**, are not observed in Paris's hand. From c.1250, the forking of the ascenders – together with the 'double head' in **f** and vertical **s** and the loop of uncial **d** - start being used for calligraphic effect.[113] The treatment of the ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l** is one of the main characteristics of Anglicana: a loop to the right is complemented by a bifurcation of the shaft, creating a large split, which is observed in Paris's hand.[114] Lastly, there are two cursive elements that appear in Paris's script that are not typical of Anglicana: the use of looping **g** – that is, with a looping lower body – which is, according to Derolez, a cursive influence in Northern Textualis; and the use of 'falling' **d**, in which the ascender is extended to the left and can start with an upward curve.[115] Overall, cursive elements, such as looping **g** and 'falling' uncial **d**, can be observed in book scripts from c.1225, although those that can be related to Anglicana in England can be observed from c.1250.[116] It is therefore possible that the hand of Matthew Paris shows an increasing number of looping **g** and 'falling' uncial **d** in the earliest manuscripts, with 8-like **g**, looping **d** and forked ascenders increasingly appearing from c.1250.

The above chronological assumptions have been used as a framework in which to place the quantitative evidence derived from the digital annotation of Paris's hand in MParisPal. Starting with the first and last manuscripts in Paris's hand, the annotations of TCD MS 177 and of BL Cotton MS Nero D I – particularly of 82r – show clear differences in the occurrence of 8-like and looping **g**, the ascender of uncial **d**, crossed and uncrossed

[108] Parkes, *Handwriting*, 130; *Their Hands Before Our Eyes*, 106.
[109] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 137; Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, xiv.
[110] Parkes, *Handwriting,* 129; Battelli, *Lezioni*, 226.
[111] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 137; Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, xiv.
[112] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 136-7.
[113] Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, xv.
[114] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 136; Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes*, 106; Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, xv.
[115] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 87, 89.
[116] Parkes, *Handwriting*, 129.

tironian *et* and the treatment of ascenders. The average percentage of long/looping **g** in TCD MS 177 is 2%, while in BL Cotton MS Nero D I is 9%. However, in the specific document that is considered to be the latest in Paris's hand (82r) the occurrence of long **g** is 14%. 8-like **g** averages 70% in TCD MS 177 and 86% in 82r, BL Cotton MS Nero D I. It must be noted, however, that 8-like **g** is in both cases usually larger than a fully Anglicana **g**. In both manuscripts, there are no annotated instances of straight-backed **d**, which means the differentiation between uncial and half-uncial **d** cannot be used to compare the two manuscripts. However, the angle of the ascender in relation to the baseline of uncial **d** shows an important difference: TCD MS 177 has the largest average angle (47°), while BL Cotton MS Nero D I has the lowest (35°). This means the majority of occurrences of uncial, round-backed **d** in the Dublin manuscript are visibly more upright than the ones in BL Cotton MS Nero D I. In the particular case of 82r, 'falling' **d** is observed together with looping **d**. Looping **d** is only once fully looped, but in all other annotations there is a varying degree of looping of the ascender. On the other hand, the Dublin manuscript displays shorter ascenders, and those that are long are in the 'falling' category, but they are not looped. The quantitative results for tironian *et* are somewhat less clear: there is an average of 26% of crossed *et* in TCD MS 177 (and therefore a 74% of uncrossed *et*); and an average of 22% of crossed and 78% of uncrossed *et* in 82r, BL Cotton MS Nero D I. These percentages show that there is not much of a difference in the crossed/uncrossed *et* ratio in the two manuscripts, making it an unclear element for chronological change. Lastly, the treatment of the ascenders can be traced in the quantitative survey via the ascender of **h**. 29% percent of the annotated **h** in TCD MS 177 display a large split in the ascender, while 85% display the same feature in BL Cotton MS Nero D I. In 82r in particular, the ascenders of **h** show a large split in every single instance (100%).

There are other elements that are also relevant in this comparison, like the average angle of writing in relation to the baseline, the proportion of short and long tironian *con*, and the proportion of straight and wavy – or 'broken-back' – vertical **s**. There is not a major difference in the average angle of writing in relation to the baseline between the two manuscripts (TCD MS 177 averages 44° (33-56°), and BL Cotton MS Nero D I, 42° (38-47°)). Overall, the average angle of writing of all manuscripts in the corpus ranges from 37° to 46°, which is not particularly significant. Tironian *con*, on the other hand, does not appear in TCD MS 177, while all those annotated on BL Cotton MS Nero D I, 82r are long

or looping. If, as described above, looping strokes as in **g** and **d** are considered cursive, then a looping stroke in tironian *con* could also be considered to be a cursive influence. In this respect, BL Cotton MS Nero D I displays significantly more cursive characteristics in abbreviation. Lastly, wavy or broken-back vertical **s** is one of the features that characterise Paris's hand, as described above. Its average distribution in the Dublin and the British Library manuscript is remarkable: it does not appear at all in the Dublin manuscript, while all annotated vertical **s** in 82r, BL Cotton MS Nero D I are wavy.

The comparison between TCD MS 177 and BL Cotton MS Nero D I reveals a number of significant changes between the assumed first manuscript and last piece of text written in Paris's hand. Firstly, that the average angle of writing in relation to the baseline does not change significantly, and that vertical **d** is not present in any of the two manuscripts. Secondly, the average angle in relation to the baseline of the ascender of uncial **d** is significantly higher in TCD MS 177 than in BL Cotton MS Nero D I, which points to a higher number of 'falling' and looping **d** in the Cotton manuscript. Thirdly, looping **g** is more frequent, although not particularly so, in the *Liber Additamentorum* than in the Dublin manuscript. Also, there is almost no difference in the proportion of crossed and uncrossed *et* in both manuscripts. And lastly, there is a significantly higher proportion of large split of the ascenders in the Cotton manuscript than in the *Vie de Seint Auban*. Other relevant elements include that all tironian *con* in BL Cotton MS Nero D I are large and/or display loops; and that all vertical **s** in this manuscript are wavy. Overall, BL Cotton MS Nero D I displays more characteristics that can be considered cursive, such as looping and 'falling' **d**, looping **g**, looping or large tironian *con*, wavy or broken-back vertical **s** and large-split ascenders. Other aspects like the crossbar of tironian *et* and the average angle of writing in relation to the baseline do not appear to change significantly.

The remaining eight manuscripts in the corpus, together with the remaining sections of BL Cotton MS Nero D I, have been quantitatively analysed in 3.b, and that data together with the elements of stability and change observed in TCD MS 177 and BL Cotton MS Nero D I open up the possibility of creating a relative chronology. In the charts below (Figures 3.39 and 3.40) the occurrence of five features – average percentage of long tironian *con*, large-split ascenders, long/looping **g**, 8-like **g** and wavy/broken-back vertical **s** – is traced across the corpus. The first chart (Figure 3.39) shows the manuscripts following Vaughan's chronological order, while the second chart (Figure 3.40) shows the manuscripts organised

by similar tendency, except for the first (TCD MS 177) and last (BL Cotton MS Nero D I). In general, four of the features in the chart – long tironian *con*, large-split ascenders of **h**, long/looping **g** and wavy/broken-back **s** - display a tendency to increase, whilst the proportion of 8-like **g** tends to decrease.

It is worth now going back to the chronological features discussed in the introduction to this section. Looping **g** and 'falling' **d** appear from c.1225, while 8-like **g**, looping **d** and forked ascenders with large split appear from c.1250. Figures 3.39 and 3.40 show a general upward tendency with regards to large-split ascenders and looping **g**, but 8-like **g** and 'falling' **d** are more complicated to trace. Firstly, 8-like **g** is decreasingly present in the corpus, and there are peaks of use in several manuscripts (CCCC MS 16 II, CCCC MS 26, BL Royal MS 14 C VII and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI); and secondly, 'falling' **d** is related to a lower angle of the ascender in relation to the baseline, which cannot be represented in the chart below. These measurements, presented above when discussing the quantitative survey, show that there is an average angle range from 35° to 47°, although the minimum and maximum registered are 21° (in BL Royal MS 14 C VII) and 59° (in TCD MS 177). The manuscripts with an average angle of the ascender of **d** in relation to the baseline below or equal to 40° are BL Cotton MS Nero D I (35°), CCCO MS 2 (37°), CCCC MS 16 II (39°) and CCCC MS 26 (40°). Those above 40° are ChL MS 6712 (41°), BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (41°), BL Royal MS 14 C VII (41°), CUL Dd 11 78 (45°), BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (46°) and TCD MS 177 (47°). The difference in the order of the manuscripts from figures 3.39 to 3.40 is the placement of CCCO MS 2, BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133, BL Royal MS 14 C VII and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI. The general trends of both charts are similar – an increase in all features except for long/looping **g**. However, the order chosen for figure 3.40 shows an upward trend in all described elements towards the last manuscripts, and makes a clearer distinction between three sections, which informs the proposed chronology below.

A new chronology for the manuscripts of Matthew Paris

What can be inferred from the charts and the analysis of TCD MS 177 and BL Cotton MS Nero D I is that there is not a clear-cut process of stability, change or evolution for all manuscripts in the corpus containing Paris's hand. Thus, one of the allographs that initially suggested a pattern of change – tironian *et* – is particularly variable, showing perhaps that

rather than a process of substitution of uncrossed *et* by its crossed version, we observe more of a coexistence in Paris's hand. The assumption that Paris's hand would display cursive and particularly Anglicana features is more successful, as shown in the charts, although not without complications. Looping **g** and 'falling' **d** – the occurrence of which is traced through the angle of the ascender in relation to the baseline – show a certain correlation, as most manuscripts with the lowest proportion of looping **g** are those with the lowest average angles, excepting TCD MS 177. This defied the premise that both looping **g** and falling **d** would increase simultaneously, as described above. One of the possible explanations is that looping **g** numbers decrease as the numbers of 8-like and trapezoidal **g** increase, which can be seen as consistent with Northern *Textualis* characteristics (a higher formality in the script), or as a slow introduction of what will be an Anglicana feature (the 8-like small **g**). In any case, the relationship between **g** and round-backed **d** in this sense is contradictory. A similar type of stroke to the loop of **g** – the loop of long tironian *con* – shows an interesting development, as there is in this case a clear proportional increase throughout the corpus. Lastly, another element of cursivity, and one highly personal in Paris's hand – the waviness of the shaft of vertical **s** - shows an initial decrease, to be followed by a clear upward progression throughout the corpus.

The Anglicana features mentioned above – 8-like **g**, looping **d**, markedly forked ascenders – also pose some difficulties. As mentioned above, 8-like **g** shows a slight decrease in the corpus, in favour of long and trapezoidal **g**. The only element that is widely present and that can be traced and quantified in the whole corpus is the large-split ascender. The quantification was carried out using letter **h**, and the tendency shown in the chart above is unequivocal: there is a clear increase in the proportion of large-split ascenders throughout the corpus, except for CCCC MS 16 II and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133. If looping **d** and the large-split ascenders are present in the corpus in a variable proportion, those manuscripts with the highest numbers of them are closer to a production date c.1250 or after. The evidence presented by Vaughan when dating Paris's manuscripts was mostly textual, although it was occasionally based on the observation of changes in aspect, particularly when he discusses TCD MS 177 and BL Cotton MS Nero D I, 82r.[117] A comparison between Vaughan's chronology and the results from the quantitative survey and the chart and analysis just above can therefore serve as support for Vaughan's

[117] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 389.

observations and as a guide for understanding changes and stabilities throughout Paris's lifetime.

There are a number of drawbacks to the quantitative approach and analysis carried out thus far: firstly, it does not take into account the fact that some manuscripts were written in a variable number of years. As exemplified by BL Cotton MS Nero D I and the last document written by Paris on 82r, Paris's contribution in each manuscript could have been made at different stages in his life. The quantitative approach, designed to make sense of a large number of allocations by a process of statistical simplification, fails to represent the possible variety in features and allographs within each manuscript. However, it does certainly provide general statistical data that can show trends as those seen in the charts above (Figures 3.39 and 3.40). On the other hand, not all manuscripts considered to contain Paris's hand are represented, as some fall outside the scope of this project, so this analysis is necessarily incomplete, yet it constitutes a first step in a full chronological description of the hand.

Establishing c.1250 as a double frontier – the appearance of Anglicana elements and the most productive phase in Paris's life – the manuscript in the corpus can be divided into those written up to c.1250 and those written c.1250-1259. By looking at those manuscripts that display most of the cursive features here analysed, those produced at the later stage can be identified. The initial group comprises TCD MS 177, CCCC MS 26, CCCC MS 16 II and CUL Dd 11 78, which show changing and unequal averages. A second group is made up of BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133, ChL MS 6712, CCCO MS 2 and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, which show a steady increase in the proportion of all described features except long **g**. The third and last group is formed of BL Royal MS 14 C VII and BL Cotton MS Nero D I, which show a general but slight decrease in most features. These three groups may reflect chronological periods in the development of Paris's hand, in three phases that go from an unsteady use of the described elements to a sharp increase in their use and a final decrease. This dynamic is better observed in figure 1.40, and does not change Vaughan's chronology significantly.

MParisPal Group I: c.1240-c.1250

- TCD MS 177 (*Vie de Seint Auban*, c.1240 or earlier)
- CCCC MS 26 (*Chronica Majora I*)
- CCCC MS 16 II (*Chronica Majora II*)
- CUL Dd 11 78 (Collection of poetry by Henry d'Avranches)

The manuscripts in this group display some common tendencies but are generally disparate in their proportion of average occurrence of the described features. There is a sharp increase in the number of long tironian *con*, large-split ascenders and broken-back vertical **s** between TCD MS 177 and CCCC MS 26; and a timid increase in the number of 8-like and long **g**. However, numbers drop between CCCC MS 26 and CCCC MS 16 II (that is, between the first and the second parts of the Chronica Majora, which were originally the same manuscript, *AB*). This is accompanied by an increase in 8-like **g** and a decrease in long **g**. Lastly, the proportion of long tironian *con*, large-split ascenders and broken-back vertical **s** goes up again in CUL Dd 11 78, this time with a dramatic increase in long **g** (and a subsequent reduction of the number of 8-like **g**).

Considering TCD MS 177 is the earliest manuscript in Paris's hand, as discussed in 1.b and at the beginning of this section, there are some interesting patterns of change in this group, to which two possible explanations can be given. First, the general unstable aspect of the group with regards to the observed features could be due to the development of Matthew Paris as a scribe, experimenting with the formality of his script. As seen when describing Paris's hand, its variability is one of its main features, and it could have been rooted in this relatively early period – which is not correlated to Paris's age, as he must have been around forty years old when he wrote the *Vie de Seint Auban*.[118] The second hypothesis is that Paris adapted his script, or the formality of his script suffered, depending on the text being copied, or his level of involvement in the copying of the manuscript. TCD MS 177 was possibly made for an aristocratic lay audience, which would explain its formality; also, the noticeable difference in the charts between the first and second parts of the *Chronica Majora* – or rather, the two halves of *AB* – could be related to Paris's involvement in them. There are approximately fifteen leaves copied by Paris in CCCC MS 26, a number that grows to

[118] See chapter 1.b. Life, works and manuscripts of Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259).

220 leaves in CCCC MS 16 II.[119] The large amount of text copied by Paris in *B* could have implied he made a conscious effort to keep his script formal, compared to the previous almost incidental stints in *A*. The overall increase in the proportion of most values in CUL Dd 11 78 may reflect the nature of the text, as this heterogeneous collection of poetry was meant for private use. Overall, the manuscripts in this group show: low numbers of most cursive descriptors in TCD MS 177; a sharp increase between the Trinity College manuscript and A; a higher level of formality in *B* in relation to *A*; and the highest levels of cursive elements – and the first sharp increase of long/looping **g** – in CUL Dd 11 78. This last sharp increase in cursive elements may point to the 1250 divide, and mark a plausible formative period in Paris's hand.

It is worth assessing this group in relation to the quantitative survey carried out in 3.b, as it completes the above chart with more evidence related to other allographs. To start with, all manuscripts in the group display a majority of regular caroline **a**, as opposed to large-headed caroline **a**. Particularly in the case of TCD MS 177 and CCCC MS 16 II the occurrence of regular caroline **a** is 93%, followed by CCCC MS 26 (54%) and CUL Dd 11 78 (68%). All manuscripts in this group except for CCCC MS 16 II belong to the first group of **b**, as classified by the straightness of the ascender, which means they show an ample majority of straight ascenders. The angle of the ascender of uncial **d** ranges between 40º and 47º, which is slightly higher than Group II, as discussed below. Also, as would be expected, the manuscripts in this group show an average occurrence of regular (joined) **e** of between 84% and 97%; and an average 59% to 94% of straight general sign of abbreviation. Lastly, the angle of writing in relation to the baseline ranges between 40º and 45º. This data supports the above considerations in relation to formality and shows that there is not a particularly significant variation in the averages in any of the allographs, which puts the above discrepancies in the chart in perspective.

MParisPal Group II: c.1250-c.1255

- BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 (fragment of *Life of St Stephen Langton*)
- ChL MS 6712 (*Flores Historiarum*)
- CCCO MS 2 (Oxford Bible)
- BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (*Abbreviatio Chronicorum*)

[119] See Appendix.

The manuscripts in this group continue the increase in cursive features shown in CUL Dd 11 78. The only relevant changes to this trend are the decline and disappearance of long **g** between BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133, ChL MS 6712 and CCCO MS 2, and its sharp rise in BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI. Otherwise, the rest of the features clearly increase. It is in this group that the highest proportion in the corpus of large-split ascenders and long tironian *con* are found. Group II manuscripts are various and show the rise in cursive elements mentioned above irrespective of the content of the manuscripts. In comparison with the manuscripts in Group I, Group II shows a clear progression and less of the uncertain use of cursive features observed in the previous group. This might point towards a bigger stability of the script, and an evolution towards more cursive features, some of which – like the large-split ascenders and 8-like **g** – can be linked to Anglicana.

In relation to the quantitative survey above, this group is less homogeneous than Group I. Only BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 is below an average of 50% of regular caroline **a** (43%), whereas the rest of the group score between 89% and 93%. BL Cotton MS Claudius and BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133 are in the third group of development of wavy ascenders in **b** (mostly wavy), and ChL MS 6712 and CCCO MS 2 are in the second group (around 50% of wavy ascenders). The average angle of the ascender of uncial **d** is lower than in Group I, as it ranges between 33º (BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XII f. 133) and 41º (ChL MS 6712 and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI). The average occurrence of regular (joined) **e** in this group is similar to Group I, as they range between 89% (CCCO MS 2) and 95% (ChL MS 6712). Lastly, there is a noticeable difference between groups in the shape of the general sign of abbreviation, as Group II manuscripts display straight general sign of abbreviation in an average between 44% and 67%. Lastly, and although it is a slight difference, the angle of writing in this group ranges between 42º and 46º, slightly higher than Group I. Overall, there are some quantitative differences between Groups I and II, namely the higher angle of writing, lower numbers of straight general sign of abbreviation and wavier ascenders of **b**, which supports the idea that Group II displays more cursive features than I.

MParisPal Group III: c.1255-1259

- BL Royal MS 14 C VII (*Chronica Majora III*)

- BL Cotton MS Nero D I (*Liber Additamentorum, Gesta Abbatum*, etc., c.1255-59)

The two manuscripts in this group have both been discussed in 3.b and 3.c, and will be described below in 4.a: firstly, BL Royal MS 14 C VII is the manuscript that contains the drawing of Matthew Paris in his deathbed; and secondly, BL Cotton Nero D I is the manuscript that contains the latest sample of Paris's hand. In terms of their scores in the charts above, the proportion of cursive features is slightly lower than the manuscripts in Group II. There is sharp decrease in the use of broken-back vertical **s** between the Royal manuscript and BL Cotton MS Nero D I, and a slight increase in the use of long **g**. Long tironian *con* and large-split ascenders are in both cases above 75%. It must be considered, as discussed above, that BL Cotton MS Nero D I is a manuscript that received materials over a number of years, and the values in the chart can only reflect the average for the whole manuscript. The use of less cursive elements in this group might point towards a conscious or unconscious effort to produce more formal manuscripts – which might be the case in the *Historia Anglorum* and the last section of the *Chronica Majora* – or to the specific way in which Paris's hand evolved in his last four years. The quantitative survey also used to complement the description of the other two groups above, largely confirms the conclusions of the chart (Figure 3.39) and point out some differences between the two manuscripts. BL Royal MS 14 C VII displays a higher proportion of regular caroline **a**, regular joined **e** and straight general signs of abbreviation (92%, 92% and 32%, respectively), with an average angle of the ascender of uncial **d** of 41º, and an average angle of writing of 37º. On the other hand, BL Cotton MS Nero D I shows a lower average angle of the ascender of uncial **d** (35º) and a higher angle of writing (42º). Both fall into the third group of development of the ascender of **b**, which refers to those manuscripts with a majority of wavy ascenders. As a whole, the manuscripts in this group display more cursive elements than the other two groups, with little variation to the angle of writing.

As mentioned above (Chapter 2) Gullick provided an average number of lines (200) that a scribe writes a day. Considering Gullick's calculations were mostly done on eleventh and twelfth century manuscripts, and that the average is highly hypothetical, the number of days Paris took to write his stints in the ten manuscripts of the corpus has been calculated. The rounded-up number of leaves he wrote in each manuscript can be seen in the Appendix and adds up to 821 leaves. In order to calculate the approximate time spent in the copying of these leaves, there are several steps to be taken: first, an average number of

lines per leaf, according to the mise-en-page of each of the manuscripts. In the case of manuscripts with varying number of lines per page – such as CUL Dd 11 78 or TCD MS 177, an average is calculated. Then, that number is doubled up to get the average number of lines per leaf, and the total number of lines is then calculated (*average number of lines per leaf x number of leaves written*). Lastly, the total number of lines is divided by Gullick's constant – 200 – and the average number of days Paris took to write in a manuscript is finally produced. This number is then divided in weeks, and then in years.[120] Thus, Matthew Paris took around two and a half years to write his stints in the ten manuscripts in the corpus. However, this number is highly speculative, and of course does not take the gathering of information, drafting, illuminating and editing into consideration, or any festivities or periods of inactivity (such as Paris's time in Norway). In any case, this relatively low figure can be contrasted with Luard's opinion that Paris could not have written all that is attributed to him in his lifetime. Taking into account the extent of scribal collaboration (as discussed below), Paris's copying of his stints in the manuscripts in the corpus may have taken less time than initially thought.

Manuscript	**MParisPal chronology**	**Vaughan's chronology**
TCD MS 177	Group I (c.1240-c.1250)	c.1240 or earlier (main text) & 1250-1255 (notes and flyleaves)
CCCC MS 26	Group I (c.1240-c.1250)	Up to 1250 (partially)
CCCC MS 16 II	Group I (c.1240-c.1250)	Up to 1250 (early section) & 1250-1255 (later section
CUL Dd 11 78	Group I (c.1240-c.1250)	Up to 1250
BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133	Group II (c.1250-c.1255)	Undated
ChL MS 6712	Group II (c.1250-c.1255)	1250-1255
CCCO MS 2	Group II (c.1250-c.1255)	1250-1255
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	Group II (c.1250-c.1255)	1256-1259
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	Group III (C.1255-1259)	1256-1259
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	Group III (C.1255-1259)	Up to 1250 (*Liber Additamentorum, Gesta Abbatum*); 1250-1255 (*Liber Additamentorum* and most additional text); 1256-1259 (late documents)

Figure 3.39. Comparison between the MParisPal and Vaughan's chronologies of Matthew Paris's manuscripts in the corpus.

[120] This is calculated considering the working week is made up of six days (Gullick, 'How Fast').

Vaughan's chronology of Paris's manuscripts, detailed at the beginning of this section and illustrated in figure 3.40, does not differ essentially from the three-group proposal above (Figures 3.38, 3.39 and 3.40). The quantitative evidence from the survey, together with the specific assessment of certain features, the appearance of which can be approximately dated, show both that Vaughan's chronology is plausible from a palaeographic perspective, and that these elements of change cannot be precisely pinned down to a specific moment in Paris's hand. In the overall process of cursivisation of Paris's hand there are clashing elements like tironian *et*; and other features that indeed increase clearly through time, such as the large-splitting of ascenders and the use of broken-back vertical **s**. It must be again noted that BL Cotton MS Nero D I was a manuscript that was constructed over a long period of time, being initially part of CCCC MS 16 II and CCCC MS 26 (*AB*).[121] The document on 82r belongs to the last period, but it is certainly possible that other parts of the manuscript were written before. However, and more generally, the script of Matthew Paris is influenced by the development of Anglicana and increases in cursive elements through time. There are no dramatic changes to the angle of writing, which suggest a certain stability in Paris's approach to writing, while the ascender of uncial **d** is progressively written at a lower angle and ascenders become wavier. Therefore, the three groups of manuscripts distinguished above provide a plausible palaeographical chronology for the script of Matthew Paris, a script which, despite its changes, remains highly recognisable in all manuscripts.

[121] See chapters 1. b. Life, works and manuscripts of Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259); and 4.a Description of scribal hands.

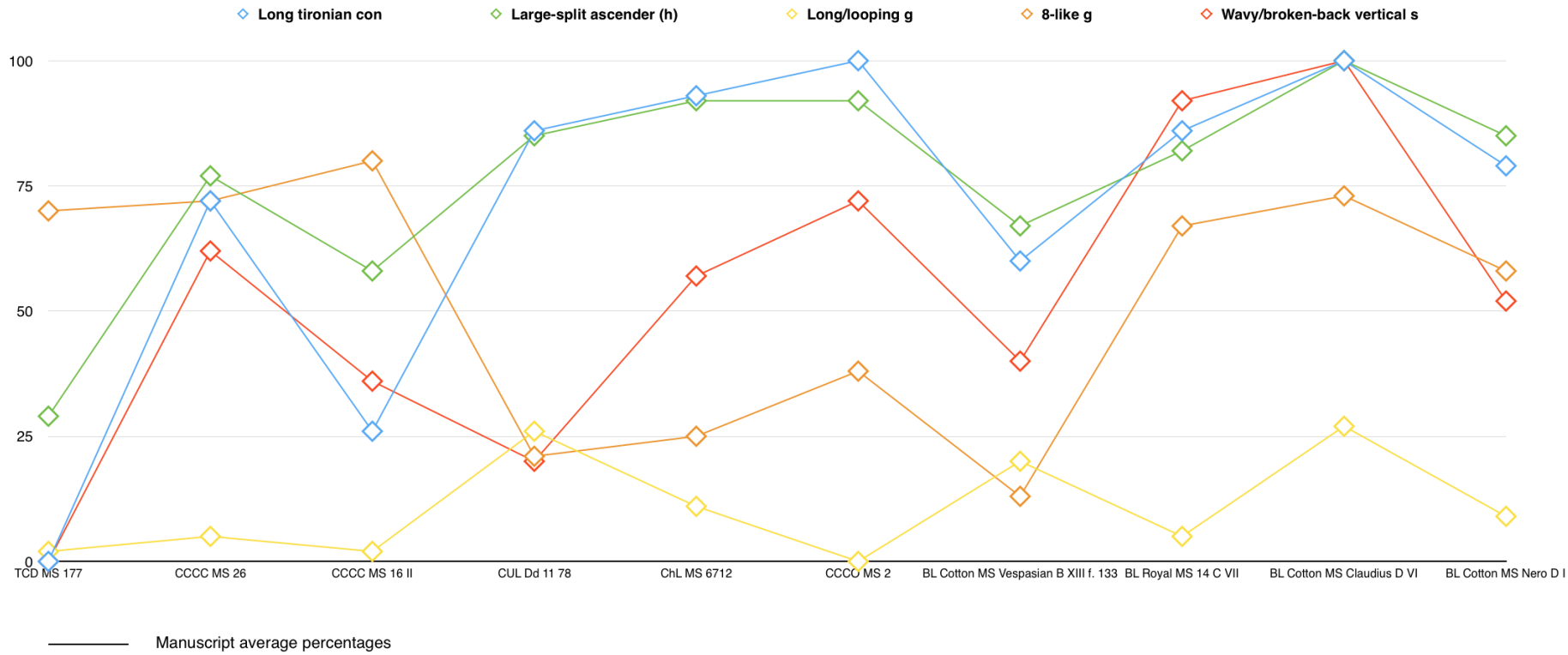

Figure 3.40. Elements of change in Paris's hand, using Vaughan's chronology.

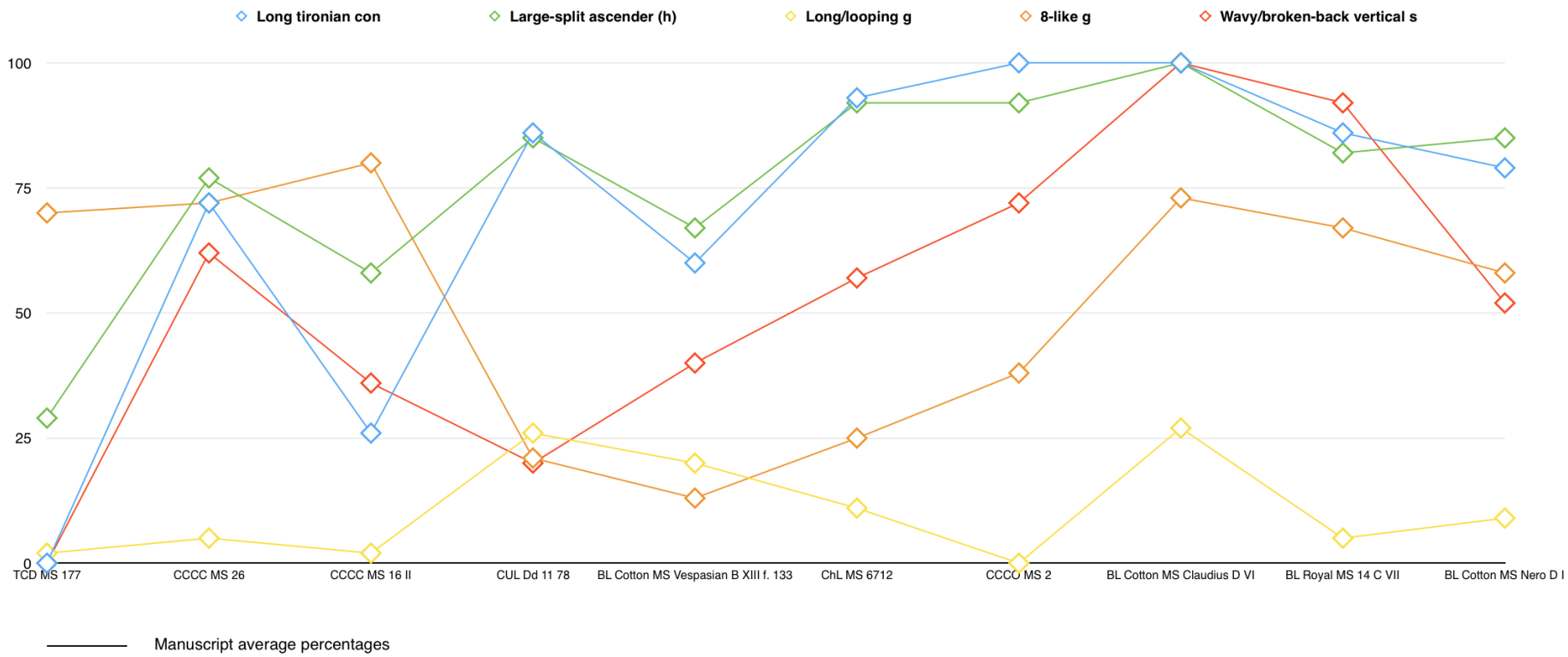

Figure 3.41. Elements of change in Paris's hand throughout the corpus, in quantitative order.

4. The collaborating scribes: hands and scribes

a. Description of scribal hands

The previous chapter (3.a) provides an overview of the extent of the involvement of Paris as a scribe in the making of the manuscripts in the corpus. However, an analysis of the other hands present in the corpus is in order, as they directly point to a process of scribal collaboration.[1] The term *hand* is used in Archetype to refer to each individual occurrence of scribal participation in a manuscript, in principle regardless of the hands in different manuscripts being executed by the same person. The distinction between hands and scribes is necessary in MParisPal, as each hand is individually annotated, only to be linked to a scribe at a later stage. Thus, there are 34 scribal hands found across the nine manuscripts in the corpus that contain scribal hands other than Paris's, three identified scribes and three inconclusive identifications.[2] Some manuscripts like BL Cotton MS Nero D I and CUL Dd 11 78 contain a large number of hands, while others are almost exclusively written in the hand of Paris, like BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI or CCCO MS 2. Therefore, this chapter provides a description of each of the hands that are present in the manuscript corpus, except for Matthew Paris's, and then compares the hands to identify scribes.[3]

In what follows, each manuscript is introduced by a brief discussion of its contents, some general palaeographic and codicological remarks, together with an assessment of the general distribution of scribal hands throughout.[4] Apart from these features, the average angle of writing in relation to the baseline and the average angle of the ascender of uncial **d** in relation to the baseline are provided.[5] The descriptions of the manuscripts and the details of hand distribution are accompanied by pie charts that show the extent of the collaboration of each hand, calculated by counting the number of leaves written by each – rounded up when necessary – and expressing them in percentages. The results of the identification and description of hands, including Matthew Paris's, are presented in the Appendix. After the description of the hands, the

[1] See Appendix for a chart detailing the extent of the collaboration of each hand in the corpus.
[2] Excluding BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133, written exclusively by Paris.
[3] A full description of Paris's hand and its evolution through time can be found in chaper 3.b The evolution of Matthew Paris's hand: a quantitative survey.
[4] The distribution of hands throughout the manuscripts is given in leaf, column and line. Therefore, any leaf that does not include details of column and line is written fully by the hand in question.
[5] As described in chapter 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus.

identification of the three scribes that have been identified is presented, corroborated by overlays of representative characters created in the lightbox of MParisPal. Lastly, a chart is provided where the extent and relative place of the collaboration of each hand and scribe within the manuscripts is presented, in order to provide a clearer overview of the conclusions of this chapter.

The manuscripts are described in alphabetical order by shelfmark. The analysis of scribal hands brings together the three methods implemented in this project.[6] Each hand has been analysed palaeographically, including general descriptions of the aspect of the hand and the qualitative consideration of MParisPal digital annotations. The basis for the analysis is the digital annotations on MParisPal, which are based on seventeen characteristic allographs.[7] Lastly, a quantitative approach has been taken to illustrate the distribution of the hands within the manuscript, and the measuring of the *angle d'approche* of the ascender of uncial **d**, as described above.

British Library Cotton MS Claudius D VI

This manuscript now contains two compilations of a different nature from the *Chronica Majora, Historia Anglorum* and *Flores Historiarum*. The first starts with the portraits of English kings, from the mythical Brutus to Henry III. This is continued by the genealogy of English kings from Alfred the Great to Henry II. The next work is known as the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*, a compilation drawn from the *Historia Anglorum* c.1255 as an abridgement.[8] It covers the period from 1000 to 1255 and remains unfinished.[9] The manuscript – 335 x 225 mm – also contains a continuation to the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* – from 1307 onwards -, a chronicle by St Albans monk William Rishanger (c.1249/50 – d. after 1312); and a calendar.[10] This manuscript also has several *membra disiecta*: 1r/v and 2r/v are now BL Royal MS 13 D I*, f. 5 and f. 6, and 12r/v is now BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI/1, as it contains part of the genealogy and a map of Britain. 221 r/v, a leaf from a Psalter, is now Royal MS 13 D I*, f. 4.[11] These fragments are only considered in the previous discussion on the hand of Matthew Paris, as they do not contain the hand of collaborating scribes.

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[6] See chapter 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus.
[7] For a discussion on methodology, see chapter 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus.
[8] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 110.
[9] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 114.
[10] J. P. Carley, 'Rishanger, William (b.1249/50, d. after 1312', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-23669, accessed 27 May 2018.
[11] J. Planta, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1802), 196-7.

Codicologically, the section of the manuscript written by Matthew Paris features different *mise-en-page*, depending on the text. Firstly, the portraits of the kings are presented in vignettes, four per leaf; secondly, the genealogical chronicle is displayed in two columns, with circles for each relative or king and text around them. Columns are divided by coloured stripes that can contain geometrical decoration. The *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* is written in two columns – of 42-44 lines each - separated by coloured inter-columns (alternating brown, green, blue and yellow). The years are placed inside a box, while many marginal notes in the lower margin have been cut. Paris's hand is the main hand of the manuscript, which is also present in some annotations and of course in the portraits of kings and all other illumination. A second hand continues the chronicle until its abrupt end. The distribution of the hands within the manuscript is as follows:

5r-91r: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)
91v-98v: Hand 2

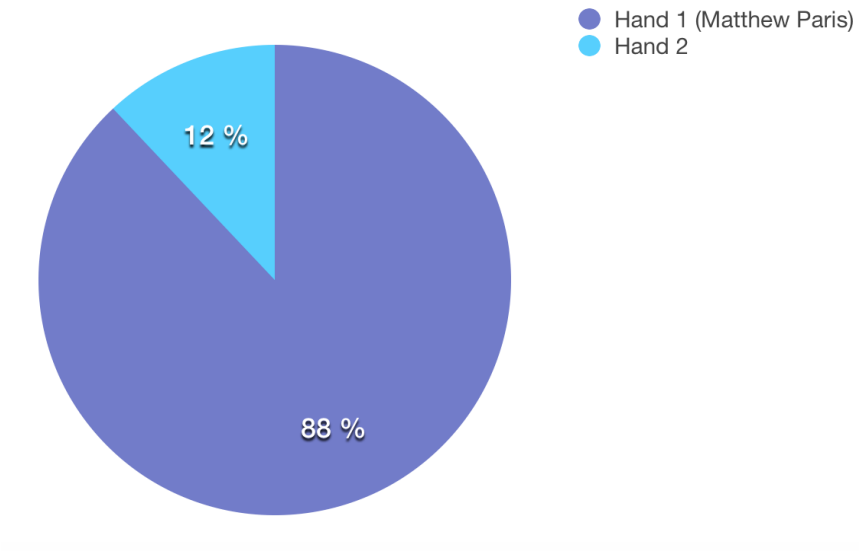

Figure 4.1. Global percentages of hand distribution in BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI.

Hand 1 – Matthew Paris (5r-91r)[12]

[12] For a collection of characteristic letterforms: https://goo.gl/YtAF48

Hand 2 (91v-98v)[13]

Hand 2, written at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 46° (in a range from 40° to 58°), is in some respects similar to the hand of Matthew Paris's. It is at times irregular, with changes to the module of the script, whilst showing features such as tall **a** and wavy abbreviation signs. It displays all the characteristics of what Lieftinck, and subsequently Gumbert, defined as *hybrida*, with a level of execution close to a *currens*: single-compartment **a**, **f** and **s** going below the baseline and ascenders without loops, with a rapid level of execution.[14] There are few letterforms that are particularly characteristic of this hand: caroline and round **a**, **b**, **d**, double-curved and vertical **s**, tironian *et* and *est*, the general sign of abbreviation and the *punctus elevatus*. This is one of the hands that can be identified as that of Matthew Paris's collaborator Scribe A, as detailed below.

Caroline **a** is the most inconsistent feature in Hand 2, as particularly its head can vary wildly. From a Paris-like exaggerated tall to a closed minim-height head, this letterform makes Hand 2 look uneven on the page. The lobe is either oval or near-square, which at times leaves the letter open. Round **a**, on the other hand, is much more regular. It is a narrow letter that is always closed, with the foot sometimes lower than the lobe.

The treatment of ascenders is one of Matthew Paris's most idiosyncratic features. In Hand 2, the ascenders of **b** differ from Paris's as they are wedged and flat-topped. Only very few cases there is a wavy top. Also, the bowl is usually left open, with an occasional closing with an angular line. Uncial **d** is quite regular as well, with only a few instances of a vertical type and long ascenders on the uncial type at an average of 36° in relation to the baseline (ranging from 26° to 48°, with a generally round bowl. Vertical **d**, as with caroline **a**, has a square bowl and a flat-topped wedged ascender.

Double-curved and vertical **s** also display remarkable features for identification purposes. Double-curved, sigma-like **s** tends to close the lower curve, and can be found either with a long and encircling stroke (at an average angle of 60° in relation to the baseline) or a curve that equals the upper one like an Arabic numeral 6. Vertical **s** displays a protrusion to the left of the shaft only occasionally, in the shape of a small diagonal stroke. The head is quite long, usually reaching until half the body of the following letter.

[13] For a collection of characteristic letterforms: https://goo.gl/z5Bn6Y
[14] Gumbert, 'A Proposal', 47.

Tironian *et* displays the usual features (7-like shape) and is found crossed. It is quite consistent throughout, with the only changes being on the top stroke, which can be either flat or wavy. Tironian *est* has two commas separated by a cross-stroke: the upper comma is orientated downwards, whilst the lower comma is directed upwards. The upper comma tends to be thicker and slightly bigger. The general sign of abbreviation is much as in Paris's hand: long, curved and usually an upwardly curved, wavy stroke. Lastly, punctuation is characterised by the morphology of the *punctus elevatus*, which, like caroline **a** and double-curved **s**, is quite changeable. The upper stroke ranges from an upwardly-curved line to a short comma, to a long tick.

Overall, this hand displays some of the features found in Paris's hand – Caroline **a**, general sign of abbreviation – whilst being quite regular in other features. Letters like **g** or tironian *con-* are among the most regular in all the analysed scribal hands, with a stability that makes the contrast with the most variable ones all the more striking.

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Figure 4.2. BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI (Hand 2), 92ra1-16 and 92vb30-42.

British Library Cotton MS Nero D I

This manuscript is Paris's best-known compilation after the *Chronica Majora*, as it contains one of the most remarkable texts in his output: The *Liber Additamentorum*, a collection of supporting documents for the *Chronica Majora*. As detailed above, this manuscript is exceptionally complex from a codicological perspective, something that has been addressed by Luard, Vaughan and Lewis.[15] Nero D I has also attracted some scholarly attention from a historical perspective, although always in relation to the *Chronica Majora*.[16] This manuscript, apart from the *Liber*, contains numerous pieces of text, including the *Vitae duorum Offarum* and the *Gesta Abbatum*, and smaller pieces on various topics ranging from an itinerary from London to Naples to a collection of arms of English nobility, and the obituaries of St Albans. Overall, there are twenty-three items contained in Nero D I, which makes it the most diverse compilation by Paris, which is reflected in the number of scribal hands (10 and Matthew Paris) that can be found within. Most of the text contained in this manuscript was edited by Luard in his edition of the *Chronica Majora*, as its sixth

[15] See chapter 1.b. Life, works and manuscripts of Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259). *CM*, I, vii-xii; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 78-91; as a general introduction to Paris's production, including Nero D I, Lewis, *The Art*, 1-52; Planta, *A Catalogue*, 236-7.

[16] Grandsen, *Historical Writing*, 356-79; Weiler, 'Matthew Paris on the Writing of History'. This manuscript has also been analysed searching for sources and ways of newsgathering, in N. Greasley' forthcoming PhD thesis ('Matthew Paris's Networks of Information').

volume. However, the texts presented there do not appear in manuscript order, but in chronological order (the manuscript order is displayed at the end of the edition). Also, some of the texts in Nero D I are not edited by Luard at all. This is the case of those pieces of text already edited in Riley's edition of the *Gesta Abbatum* of Wats's seventeenth-century edition of the *Vitae Duorum Offarum*.[17] Other pieces of text within the manuscript - the invention and translation of St Alban (27r-29v), a collection of testimonies (85r) and the list of Popes (162r-163r), among others - were left unedited.[18]

The digitisation of BL Cotton MS Nero D I became available online only in 2017, at a late stage in this project.[19] Initial work had been done on microfilm and on scanned microfilm, which is the format in which it appears on MParisPal. Where possible, the descriptions of scribal hands have been updated to reflect some of the aspects that could not be observed in the original microfilm-based, analysis but because of the size and complexities of this manuscript, and the economic constraints for this project which precluded the purchase of large numbers of digital images, this manuscript has received relatively preliminary analysis to date. The possibility of more time working with this digitisation would have made the analysis below more specific, and the possibility of images of a better quality would have enhanced the legibility and size of the digital annotations on MParisPal.

Scribal hands in this manuscript are distributed as follows:[20]

2r - 82r: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

- 29v: Blank (half-leaf)
- 63rb17-49: Hand 2
- 69va: Hand 3
- 79vb23-45: Hand 4

82v: Blank

83r - 84v: Hand 3

85r - 86r: Hand 5

86v - 105v: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

[17] *GA*; *Vitae duorum Offarum*, ed. W. Wats (London, 1639).
[18] The manuscript order list of contents in Nero D I is found in *CM*, VI, 491-523.
[19] The online digitised version of BL Cotton MS Nero D I can be found here: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Nero_D_I
[20] Indications of later material and hands in the manuscript are taken from: Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts,* 87; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris,* 78–91; A. G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700-1600 in The Department of Manuscripts The British Library* (London, 1979), 542.

- 100v: Blank (half-leaf)

106r - 106va29: Hand 3

106va30-37: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

106vb: Later hand

107r - 119ra13: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

119ra14-b37: Later hand

119v - 123r: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

- 119v (lower margin): Note by later hand
- 120va8-25: Illegible, possibly Hand 3
- 121r: Blank (half-leaf)

123v - 124rb38: Hand 6

124rb39 - 126vb16: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

126vb17 – 127rb9: Hand 6

127rb10 - 132r: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

132v: Later hand

133ra1 – b17: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

133rb18-43: Later hand

133v: Blank

134r - 134va1-35: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

134va36-b48: Later hand

- 134vb18-23: Later hand

135r - 137ra26: Hand 4

137ra27 – b30: Hand 7

137v- 140vb24: Hand 3

140vb25 - 142r: Later hand

142v: Blank

143r - 144v: Later hand

145r - 148r: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

148v: Later hand

149r - 155vb21: Hand 8

155vb22 - 156v: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

157r/v: Hand 9

158r - 161vb26: Hand 10

162r - 167v possibly added to the manuscript by Cotton[21]

161vb27 - 162va25: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

162va26 - 163rc2: Hand 2

163rc2-9: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

163rc10-35: Later hands

163v - 167v: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

168r/v and 169r/v originally placed after 84v

168r - 169r: Hand 11

169v - 171v: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

172r - 183r: 14th century additions

- 181v - 182r (upper margin): Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

183v - 187v: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

188r - 196v: 14th century additions

197r: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

197va1-25: Later hands

197va26 - 198r: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

198v: Later hand

199r1-3: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

199r4-15: 14th century addition

199r16-41: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

199v: 14th century addition

200r/v: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

201r - 202v: 15th and 17th century additions

[21] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 78.

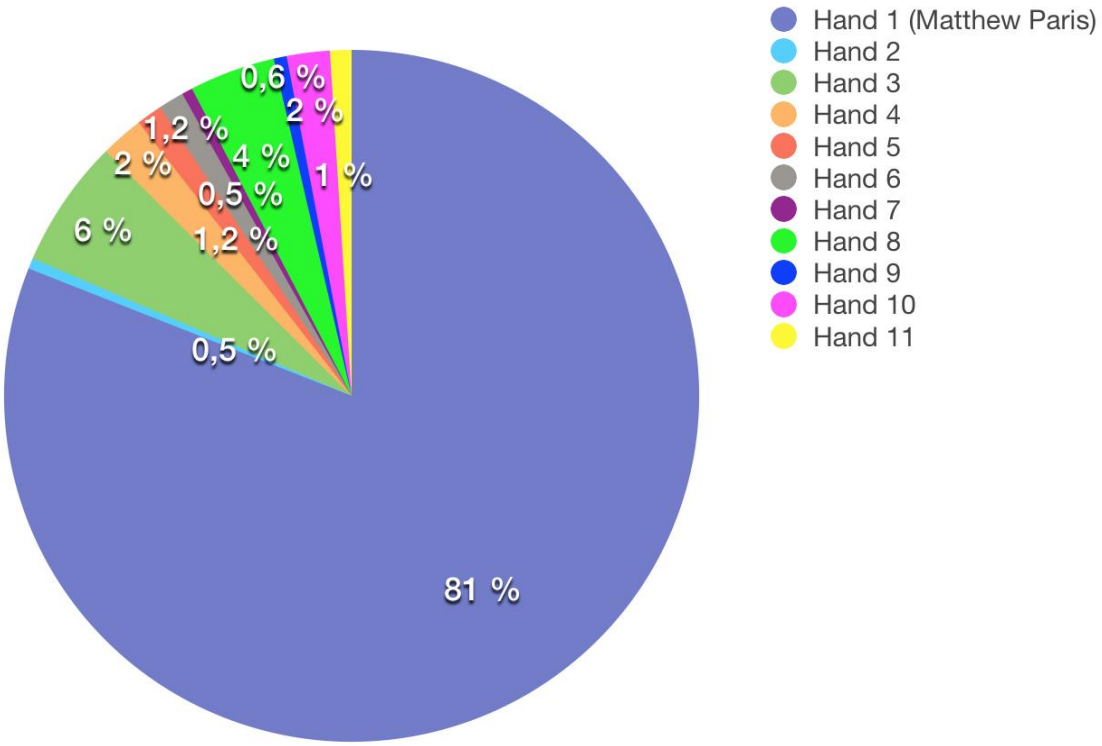

Figure 4.3. Global percentages of hand distribution in BL Cotton MS Nero D I.

Hand 1 - Matthew Paris (2r-82r; 86v-105v; 106va30-37; 107r-119ra13; 119v-123r; 124rb39-126vb16; 127rb10-132r; 133ra1–b17; 134r-134va1-35; 145r-148r; 155vb22-156v; 161vb27-162va25; 163rc2-9; 163v-167v; 169v-171v; 181v-182r (upper margin); 183v-187v; 197r; 197va26-198r; 199r1-3; 199r16-41; 200r/v)

Hand 2 (63rb17-49; 162va 26-163rc 2)

Hand 2 is responsible for some text in two different sections. First (63r), the hand writes part of a 1219 letter contained in the *Gesta Abbatum* between the bishop of Lincoln and the abbot of St Albans about Luton ('*Compositio facta inter episcopum Lincolniae et abbatem Sancti Albani*').[22] The second time this hand intervenes (162v-163r) is much later in the manuscript, a list of Popes that goes up to Alexander IV (1245-1261). Hand 2 is responsible for the entries between Saint Gregory the Great (c.540-604) and Gregory IX (1227-1241). As a general rule, this hand does not

[22] *GA*, 275.

display biting between **de**, **do** and **pp** (although there is 'kissing' in those instances), and it does not use the ampersand.[23]

This hand writes at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 47°, in a range from 37° to 59°. This hand is responsible for only 0.5% of the manuscript, and it only writes on groups of lines that do not constitute full leaves. The most characteristic allographs in this hand are caroline **a**, double-curved **s**, vertical **s**, tironian *et*, tironian *con-*, and -b*us*. Caroline **a** displays a markedly square bowl that contrasts with a round head, which on occasion is particularly tall and curved inwards. However, in most cases the head is of regular proportions and closes over the bowl. Both double-curved and vertical **s** are remarkable in Hand 2. Double-curved **s** is quite frequent in this hand, and it is generally written with a loose lower curve that gives the letter a diagonal shape. There are some instances of a more 'formed' **s** with equal curves, in which both curves are closed and angular. On the other hand, vertical **s** is recognisable because of its rigidity. Its head is angled inwards, most of the times closing in completely in an angular loop. There are other instances of less angular heads, but these are scarce. In all cases, the ascender displays a serif to the left. With regards to abbreviation and suspension, tironian *et* displays a prominent curve at the start of the top stroke, while the downstroke is usually vertical. The sign is always crossed. Tironian *con-* is written almost vertically, with an open upper curve, and with a characteristic upwards curve at the end. Lastly, the downstroke of -b*us* is usually curved upwards at the end, giving it an almost diagonal appearance.

Other aspects of interest in Hand 2 concern ascenders and letters **b**, **d**, **g** and **h**. Ascenders in this hand are usually embellished at the top with a small fork or a wavy line. This is particularly the case in **b**, where there is a visible contrast between the width of the bowl and of the ascender. The bowl is left open, and the overall shape is rounded. Letter **d** is written in uncial form, with generally long ascenders averaging at 57° in relation to the baseline (and ranging between 50° and 63°). Bowls are rounded, with some narrower instances. Letter **g** displays both round and trapezoidal lower bodies, with round upper bodies in both cases. Lastly, letter **h** displays the same type of ascenders as **d**, displaying rather short descenders, which do not go below the baseline. The join between shaft and descender is usually angular and sometimes is left disjointed.

[23] This terminology is taken from Kwakkel, 'Biting, Kissing', 100.

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Figure 4.4. BL Cotton MS Nero D I (Hand 2), 63rb17-27 and 162va34-46.

Hand 3 (69va; 83r-84v; 106r-106va29; 120va8-25 (possibly); 137v-140vb24)

Hand 3 is responsible for several sections of text within the *Liber Additamentorum*, and these provide dating evidence for the scribe's activity late in Matthew Paris's life and immediately after his death (1252-1260). Firstly, the scribe of Hand 3 writes the first column of the first leaf ('*Quomodo revocatum est et cassatum iniquum*…'), dated 1253 (69v), dealing with an inquisition made at Hertford;[24] he then writes for two leaves, dated c.1259, containing a number of letters: '*Aliae litterae missae a barnagio domino Papae'* (1258), '*Item aliae litterae missae ab eisdem maxime contra electum Wyntoniensem*' (1258) and '*Litterae papales missae communitati Angliae*' (1258, 83r-84v);[25] then he goes on to write '*Errores qui elici possunt the libro Joachim abbatis*…' (1256) (106r/v);[26] possibly a letter from St Albans to the bishop of Durham ('*Item episcopo Dunelmensi…'*, 1257), which is partly erased (120v);[27] and the '*Provisiones novae baronum*' (1259), '*De passibus custodiendis et corrigendis*…' (1260), an agreement between Reginald of Trumpington and Christiana with regards to a shop in St Albans (1252) ('*Haec et conventio facta inter Reginaldum*…'); and charters assigning incomes for lights for the altar (1259) ('*Hic praenotatur cartae continentes*…') (137v-140v).[28] This hand writes at an average angle of 46° from the baseline, in a range from 35° to 50°, and it presents an uneven appearance, with some shifting to the axis of the letters and the overall straightness of the minims. 'Kissing' is found instead of biting in all **de**, **do**, **pp** and other similar combinations, while ampersand is not present.

The main characters that assist the recognition and identification of Hand 3 are caroline **a**, round **a**, **d**, double-curved **s** and tironian *et*. Caroline **a** is usually closed and compact, with a bowl that tends to be square. However, there are more open instances, with long, curved heads. The most recognisable feature of this allograph is that, particularly in the syllable **ta**, the head of the letter goes above minim height. This is a phenomenon that happens quite regularly. On the other hand, round **a** is quite common, with a straight back and a round curve. On most occasions the back protrudes slightly over the bowl. Uncial **d**, with ascenders averaging 41° in relation to the baseline (ranging from 22° to 55°), usually displays long ascenders, sometimes slightly curved at the top. Very few instances show a complete looping of the ascender, while all instances show a round bowl. Double-curved **s** is remarkable, firstly, because it is ubiquitous. It displays a stable shape – loose lower curve, almost closed upper curve – although there are variations to this, with closed

[24] *GA*, 338; *CM*, VI, 492.
[25] *CM*, VI, 406-16; 497.
[26] *CM*, VI, 335-39; 503.
[27] *CM*, VI 382; 508.
[28] *CM*, VI, 225-6; 512.

lower curves (similar to a Greek sigma). Lastly, tironian *et* is found both crossed and uncrossed, although it is predominantly crossed. The top stroke is usually straight, although there are some wavy ones; and the overall shape is slightly diagonal.

Generally, ascenders in Hand 3 are flat-topped with some variant forms that either give the ascender a wedged shape, or make the top wavy. Other allographs of interest for this hand are the marks of suspension used in -b*us*, tironian *con-* and vertical **s**. The downstroke of -b*us* presents two distinct varieties in this hand: one that is 3-like with a long, diagonal second curve; and a longer one with an inward curving of the downstroke, as if connecting to the following letter. Tironian *con-* shows different levels of cursivity, from a well-formed 9-like appearance to more open instances with an inward curve. Lastly, the most recognisable feature of vertical **s** is its head, which is long and straight or slightly curved, going over part of the following letter.

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Figure 4.5. BL Cotton MS Nero D I (Hand 3), 69va7-18 and 137vb6-17.

Hand 4 (79vb23-45; 135r-137ra26)

This hand writes on two separate occasions within the *Liber Additamentorum*. Firstly, the scribe responsible for Hand 4 writes a letter from 1258 from the abbot of St Albans to the bishop of Durham ('*Abundans humilitas*');[29] and it also writes the '*Articuli observandi per previsionem episcoporum Angliae*' (c.1260), the last part of which, according to Luard, was written after Paris's death.[30] The script, written at an average angle of 42° in relation to the baseline (ranging between 39° and 47°), looks fairly disjointed, with a tendency towards straight lines. This disjointed aspect affects fusions, and therefore kissing or biting are not observed.

The most recognisable features in this hand are the forms of **b**, **g**, **h**, tironian *et*, *punctus elevatus* and -b*us*. Given the variability of this hand, it is to be expected that ascenders present some changes. In this sense, letter **b** shows flat, forked and wedged ascenders, from an exaggerated large curved fork to a minimal wave. The bowl is left open. Letter **g**, on the other hand, displays

[29] *CM*, VI, 395-6; 496.
[30] *CM*, VI, 511-12. The foliation of this index, from f. 133, is a leaf behind the actual order in the manuscript today, thus 'f. 133' refers to '134r'.

two basic variations: one with a usually open and round lower body – larger than the upper body, which is round – and one closing the lower body with a curved line that would go below the preceding letters. The former type is more common than the latter, but it is the latter that gives a more unique identity to this hand. As with **b**, **h** displays different ways of topping the ascender, although there is a preference for a flat topping line that extends to the left. The shaft is not footed, while shaft and descender are usually left disjointed. The descender is short, and goes just below the baseline. Tironian *et* is found crossed in all instances, with a top stroke that is generally bent forward, forming a diagonal line. The downstroke is generally straight or just slightly angled, which gives the sign an overall narrow appearance. The *punctus elevatus* shows some variety in its upper stroke, which can be straight, tick-like or curved. Lastly, the suspension for -b*us* follows the trend sent by **b** and **h**, and shows a variety of shapes. The downstroke can be 3-like and short, with an extended lower curve and tilted to the left, or straighter or even tilted to the right. Apart from the above allographs, there are other remarkable features typical of this hand. Caroline **a**, for instance, is quite stable throughout, with a straight back and curved head. Round **a** is also stable and displays a straight back as well, with small changes to the narrowness of the bowl. Letter **d**, with ascenders at an average angle of 37° (ranging between 25° and 49°) presents little variety, its most characteristic feature being the closed angle of the ascender, which is usually short and straight.

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Figure 4.6. BL Cotton MS Nero D I (Hand 4), 79vb23-33 and 135rb1-13.

Hand 5 (85r-86r)

This hand writes three letters and a list of testimonies in the *Liber Additamentorum* dated from 1242 to 1245. These are: '*Quae scriptae sunt suo loco*…', which gathers testimonies of writers on the end of the world (1245), '*Epistola cuiusdam episcopi Ungariensis*…', a letter from a bishop of Hungary on the Tartars (1242), '*Illustri viro, glorioso et excelso*…', a letter between the Landgrave of Thuringia and the duke of Brabant on the Tartars (1242) and '*Carissimis Christi fidelibus universis*…', a letter between the provincial vicar of the Franciscans in Poland, also on the Tartars (1242).[31] This hand – written at an average angle from the baseline of 41° (in a range of 33-47°) - shows a rounder appearance, with closed and round caroline **a** and a tendency towards closing the ascenders of uncial **d**. However, there are changes to format throughout, with smaller and larger sections, as in 85r. There are multiple examples of kissing, particularly in **do**, but also in **de**, but not of biting.

The most helpful allographs for the identification of Hand 5 are caroline **a**, **d**, **g**, **h**, double-curved **s**, vertical **s** and -b*us*. As mentioned above, caroline **a** is always closed, with a straight back and with a round head that is usually equal to the bowl. Uncial **d** is defined by its long ascenders written at a closed angle (averaging 32°, and ranging from 17° to 47°), and by its round bowl. There is a variety of uncial **d** that is only used when the letter starts a new line of text, in which

[31] *CM*, VI, 75-8; 80-1; 497.

the ascender is placed horizontally, occupying the margin. Letter **g** is round and tends to be 8-like, with some instances of a more angular lower body. Forked ascenders are commonplace in **h**, although with a small split. The shaft and descender are not joined, and the descender goes just below the baseline. Both double-curved and vertical **s** are remarkable in Hand 5. Double-curved **s** shows closed curves which are angular on occasion. Vertical **s**, in a similar way to Hand 2, closes the head inwards, although with a rounder stroke. It displays the usual serif to the left, and it is always footed. Lastly, the downstroke of -b*us* closely follows the bowl of **b**, going only slightly below the baseline, and resembling a round number 3. Other characteristics of interest are the ascenders of **b**, which as in **h**, are forked with a small split; and the head of **e**, which is completely round. Tironian *et* is always crossed and with a long top stroke that is straight or slightly curved, with a curved start. The general sign of abbreviation is always rather short and straight.

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Figure 4.7. BL Cotton MS Nero D I (Hand 5), 85ra8-20 and 86rb19-33.

Hand 6 (123v-124rb38; 126vb17–127rb9)

Hand 6 is responsible for writing several pieces of text within the *Liber Additamentorum* ('*Litterae domini Papae exactoriae...*', a letter between Peter of Northampton and the prior of Dunstable, 1252; '*Responsio partis abbatis S. Albani*…'; '*Declaratio omnimodi iuris quod habet*…', c. 1253; and '*Sententia difinitiva super praedictis*…', all on the process of litigation with regards of the church of St Peter in St Albans, 1253, 123v-124r).[32] This hand also writes '*De conventione facta in ecclesia S Petri*…' summoning all holding ecclesiastical benefices to the church of St Peter to pay their dues (1256); '*De inquisitionibus ibidem factis*…', on the inquisition held there (1256); and '*De conventione facta per episcopum Lincolniensem*…', by which the bishop of Lincoln calls his archdeacons to a meeting in London (126v-127r, 1256).[33] This is a hand that can be confused with that of Matthew Paris, as some of its features – variability, some tall caroline **a**, the general unevenness of the line – are similar. However, this hand – written at an angle with the baseline of 41° (in a range of 33-45°) - is more angular in its features, displays characteristically long and straight ascenders in uncial **d**

[32] *GA*, 331-6; *CM*, VI, 509.
[33] *CM*, VI, 312-15; 510.

and does not display some of Paris's most characteristic shapes, particularly in letter **g** and tironian *con-*. As a rule, it does not show instances of biting, except for **pp**.

The essential allographs to identify this hand are **d**, **g**, **h**, tironian *et*, -b*us* and the general sign of abbreviation. Uncial **d** is defined by its long ascenders, written at a relatively low angle (average of 35° and ranging between 23° and 48°). These long ascenders can, on occasion, curve upwards at the end, and in some instances the whole letter is more vertical, with the ascender at a wider angle and with a more pronounced curve. Letter **g** in this hand displays an angular lower body, in which its trapezoidal form is accentuated by a sharp closing stroke that extends beyond the letter. **h**, conversely, displays downstrokes that go just below the baseline. The shaft is found forked, although there are some instances of tops that end in a wavy line. Tironian *et* is found uncrossed in Hand 6 – a first in the hands of Nero D I - with a straight top stroke and diagonal downstroke. The downstroke of the suspension for -b*us* in this hand is in semi-colon shape, ending in a comma that goes just below the baseline. Lastly, the general sign of abbreviation in this hand is generally wavy, ending in all cases in an upwards turn. The sign itself is long, which is a helpful identification feature. Apart from these 'essential' features, it must be noted that this hand displays forked ascenders (with small split), that **a**, both caroline and round, are written upright and with round features; and that tironian *con-* is 9-like and quite long, going in many cases below the baseline.

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Figure 4.8. BL Cotton MS Nero D I (Hand 6), 123vb1-16 and 126vb26-40.

Hand 7 (137ra27-b30)

This hand writes a section of the '*Litterae Papales missae regi Angliae*…' (1259), from Alexander IV to Henry III, in the final section of the *Liber Additamentorum*.[34] This hand, which only writes in part of a leaf, is similar to the hand it precedes in 137r (Hand 4). However, there are enough differences between both to distinguish them as separate hands: the general aspect is rounder and less spread-out in Hand 7; the general sign of abbreviation is entirely different between them, and, most importantly, Hand 7 makes continuous use of ampersand instead of tironian *et*. This hand writes at an average angle of 44°, in a range from 35° to 52°.

The most relevant allographs that help identifying Hand 7 are **d**, **h**, vertical **s**, tironian *et*, -b*us* and the general sign of abbreviation. Uncial **d** is generally short, with straight ascenders that are angled at 37° (ranging from 23° to 44°), and with a round bowl. Letter **h** shows quite angled-in descenders that go below the shaft and underneath the baseline. There is a visible and angular join between shaft and descender, and the shaft itself is usually wedged and/or flat-topped. Vertical **s** shows a tendency to be c-like, with the head and the feet ending sharing the same width. The familiar serif to the left is not always present, and the head is generally curved, although there are some instances of an almost straight line. Tironian *et* shows a closing between the top stroke and the horizontal crossing stroke, which creates somewhat of a top compartment. However, and as mentioned above, this hand shows a preference for the use of ampersand. The suspension for -b*us* is 3-like and not particularly long below the baseline, with some exceptions. Lastly, the general sign of abbreviation shows few instances of starting and ending strokes to the horizontal line that tilt to the right, creating almost a letter **u**. Other allographs also show features of interest, such as tironian *con*-, which always shows an upwards curve and an open bowl. Caroline **a** displays an upright back and a round head; **b** can be flat-topped (with or without an extension of the topping stroke to the left) or top the ascender with a small fork; lastly, **e** shows on occasion a characteristically long tongue that extends beyond the body of the letter, always at an angle.

[34] *CM*, VI, 512.

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Figure 4.9. BL Cotton MS Nero D I (Hand 7), 137ra30-42 and 137rb19-30.

Hand 8 (149r-155vb21)

This hand writes part of a collection of charters and privileges of St Albans ('*Antiqua et primitive munimenta ecclesiae*…', which includes charters from Offa (from 793 and 795), Ecgfrith (from 796), Æthelred (from 996, 1002, 1005 and 1007), William I, William II and Henry I.[35] This is a comparatively formal hand, written at an average angle of 37° (in a range from 28° to 49°), quite uniform and vertical and with more instances of biting, particularly in **de** and **do**.

The allographs that are best to identify this hand are **b**, **d**, **g**, **h** and tironian *et*. The ascender of **b** is always engrossed at the top and finalised with a straight line that goes beyond the letter on both sides. The bowl is narrow and tends to be left open. Interestingly, **d** presents both vertical and uncial forms and, although the latter is more numerous, there are many instances of the former in this hand. Vertical **d**, like **b**, displays engrossed ascenders and it is topped by a straight line. Uncial **d**, on the other hand, displays short and straight ascenders at an average angle of 33° (ranging from 20° to 45°, which is quite variable). The lower body of **g** is, in this case, round, and on occasion it is left open. The upper body is round although laterally compressed. The most interesting aspect of letter **h** is that is generally closed between the feet of the shaft and the downstroke, which goes just below the baseline. As with **b** and vertical **d**, the shaft is flat-topped. Lastly, tironian *et* is crossed and vertical, and displays a long and straight top stroke. It is worth mentioning, for identification purposes, that the general sign of abbreviation shows, as in some other hands, starting and finishing downstrokes.

[35] *CM*, VI, 1-40; 513-4. The charters of Offa, Ecgfrith and Æthelred have been edited in J. C. Crick, *Charters of St Albans* (Oxford, 2007), 109 (Offa, 793), 124 (Offa, 795), 137 (Ecgfrith, 796), 167-8, 174-5, 178-9, 189-90 (Æthelred, 996, 1002, 1005 and 1007).

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Figure 4.10. BL Cotton MS Nero D I (Hand 8), 149ra8-20 and 152vb12-23.

Hand 9 (157r/v)

Hand 9 writes within the section that copies charters and privileges of St Albans, copying a bull from Pope Honorius III to St Francis confirming his rule ('*Honorius episcopus servus servorum Dei*…', 1227).[36] This is a hand that is relatively even, written at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 42° (ranging from 35° to 47°), with some elements like vertical **s** or the general sign of abbreviation that break the overall aspect. Biting can be observed in **de**, **do** and **pp**, and the preferred conjunction is *et*.

The most idiosyncratic elements in Hand 9 are the forms of **g**, vertical **s**, tironian *et*, *punctus elevatus* and the general sign of abbreviation. Letter **g** shows a trapezoidal lower body that does not extend beyond the letter itself. It is compact, and displays a round, though narrow, upper body. Vertical **s**, as mentioned above, is generally unusually large, with an inward-curved head and a slightly curved descender that goes below the baseline. There are more 'regular' instances of vertical **s** which are minim-height tall or slightly taller and display the characteristic serif to the left. Tironian *et* is also quite distinctive in that it is rather rounded, topped by a straight or slightly wavy top stroke. It is always crossed, and the overall body is curved to the right. In terms of punctuation, the *punctus elevatus* is remarkable because its upper stroke is an almost-closed curve, rather than a tick-like line. Lastly, the general sign of abbreviation is, as in some other hands in this manuscript, curved. It displays an upwards curve or an overall wavy line.

Apart from the allographs detailed above, there are other elements of interest in Hand 9. Firstly, it displays forked ascenders, generally with a large split, and without an engrossing of the stroke. Letter **d**, on the other hand, is only found in uncial form and it is written relatively upright, with ascenders at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 48° (and within a range between 42° and 56°). Lastly there is a predominance of angular heads in letter **e**, and of long and curved descenders in **h**.

[36] *CM,* III, 136; VI, 515.

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Figure 4.11. BL Cotton MS Nero D I (Hand 9) 157rb11-26 and 157va34-51.

Hand 10 (158r-161vb26)

This hand is responsible for the copying of some of the texts belonging to the collection of charters and privileges of St Albans. In particular, Hand 10 writes fifteen letters from Pope Clement III (1187-1191) to Abbot Garinus (158r-160v); letters from Pope Clement III to the English prelates and to the English bishops (161r); a letter from Pope Urban III (1185-1187) to Abbot Warin, and from Pope Lucius III (1181-1185) to the English bishops (161v).[37] This is a rounded and relatively regular hand, with a vertical axis. There is some biting, particularly in **de**, although the predominance of vertical **d** keeps fusions at a minimum. It is a hand that writes at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 41°, in a range from 33° to 47°.

From Hand 10 there are a number of allographs that are key for identification: **b**, **d**, **g**, double-curved **s**, -b*us* and the general sign of abbreviation. The ascender of **b**, and by extension ascenders in general, are wedged and flat-topped. In **b**, the bowl is rounded and narrow, and it is usually presented closed. Letter **d**, as mentioned above, presents a large number of vertical instances. In these, the ascenders are wedged and flat-topped, and the bowl is round. Uncial **d**, on the other hand, presents two peculiarities: first, the angled ascender is placed after the turn of the curve of the bowl, which gives the letter a 'hunchback' appearance. Also, the ascender is placed at a rather low average angle (26°, in a range from 15° to 40°). What is remarkable about **g** is that the lower body is left hooked and open, with a narrow and curved upper body. The last letterform to be considered essential for identification is double-curved **s**, which is angular and with equal curves, except in the few cases in which the upper curve is extended to the right. The suspension for -b*us* is quite rounded and compact, as the downstroke is almost the same height as the bowl of **b**, just touching or going just below the baseline. It is 3-like and only rarely angular. Lastly, the general sign of abbreviation is short and straight, although it occasionally shows a downstroke to the right. Other allographs of interest are the *punctus elevatus*, whose upper stroke is curved; and tironian *con*-, which is always written with an end stroke to the right.

[37] *CM*, VI, 40-62; 515-16; for the letter between Pope Clement III and abbot Garinus in 158r, see *GA*, 498; for the letter between Clement III and Garinus in 160v, see *CM*, V, 10.

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Figure 4.12. BL Cotton MS Nero D I (Hand 10), 158rb1-14 and 160rb39-56.

Hand 11 (168r-169r)

Hand 11 copies Laurence of St Alban's responses to the charges against Hubert de Burgh ('*Responsiones magistri Laurentii de Sancto Albano*…', 1239).[38] This is a homogeneous hand that does not usually take space above minim-height or below the baseline. It displays a tendency to closing strokes, and biting is observed in **de**, **do** and **pp**. It is written at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 40°, within a range from 33° and 45°.

The main allographs that help identify Hand 11 are caroline **a**, **b**, **d**, **g** and double-curved **s**. Caroline **a** shows closed heads and generally round strokes, with a straight back. Letter **b** is also round – although narrower – and shows wedged ascenders that are either flat-topped or forked with a small split. The bowl is usually left open. As with Hand 10, uncial **d** in Hand 11 places ascenders at a low angle in relation to the baseline (average of 30°, and ranging between 22° and 45°). There are some instances of **d** with a horizontal ascender that extend into the margin, in a similar fashion to Hand 5. Letter **g** shows a trapezoidal lower body, although there are instances of more rounded shapes and of longer, looping strokes, in a way similar to Matthew Paris's hand. Lastly, double-curved **s** closes both curves, making it look 8-like and compact. In addition to these allographs, there are other elements that can be taken into account: tironian *et* is mostly straight and always crossed, with a short and wavy top stroke; vertical **s** shows a particularly pronounced serif to the left; and the suspension for -b*us* is small and 3-like, only going slightly below the baseline.

[38] *CM*, VI, 63-74; 517.

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Figure 4.13. BL Cotton MS Nero D I (Hand 11), 168rb40-54 and 169ra1-13.

British Library Royal MS 14 C VII

This is one of the best-known manuscripts containing Paris's hand, and the one that includes the *Historia Anglorum* and the third part of the *Chronica Majora*.[39] It has been edited for the Rolls Series separately, and has been the focus of some debate in relation to the end of the *Chronica Majora*.[40] The manuscript starts with prefatory texts – a diagram of the winds, one of Paris's itineraries to the Holy Land, a map of England, a drawing of the Virgin Mary with Paris at her feet and an Easter table and calendar – before the *Historia Anglorum* starts with a series of portraits of the kings of England from William I to Henry III. After the *Historia* (8v-156v), the third part of the *Chronica Majora* takes from 157r to 218v, and it is continued afterwards in a late thirteenth-century hand. The manuscript - 350 x 245mm – is lead-ruled and divided in two columns with an average of fifty lines each.[41]

One of the most interesting aspects of this manuscript is foliation symbols written on the verso of some folios. There is a note on the numbers of leaves in each first folio of most quires (*in isto XII fol*), excepting XI and XII. The first five or six leaves of quires are numbered on the *verso* in Roman numerals, together with symbols, which are different per quire. These symbols range from a simple *f* to an arrow and to more abstract drawings, always followed by the respective numeral.

There are three hands present in this manuscript in the period corresponding to Paris's lifetime, one of which is Paris's. Paris's hand opens the manuscript; a second hand continues for just two leaves before being taken over by Paris again. From 210r a third hand takes over from Paris. This last hand is the one that has received most of the attention, as it is the one that informs us of the death of Matthew Paris, with the famous depiction of the polymath in his deathbed (218v). Paris is responsible for writing almost the whole of the *Historia Anglorum* and the first section of the third part of the *Chronica*.[42] The identification of Paris's participation in this manuscript coincides with Vaughan's, even though he was not entirely clear in identifying one or two additional scribes:[43]

[39] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 49. The digitised version of this manuscript can be found in http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_14_c_vii.
[40] *HA*; *CM*.
[41] G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum*, 4 vols. (London, 1921), II, 135-6.
[42] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 77.
[43] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting'.

- Hand 1 (Matthew Paris): 2r - 154vb22; 157r - 210ra.
- Hand 2: 154vb23 - 156v.
- Hand 3: 210rb – 218v.

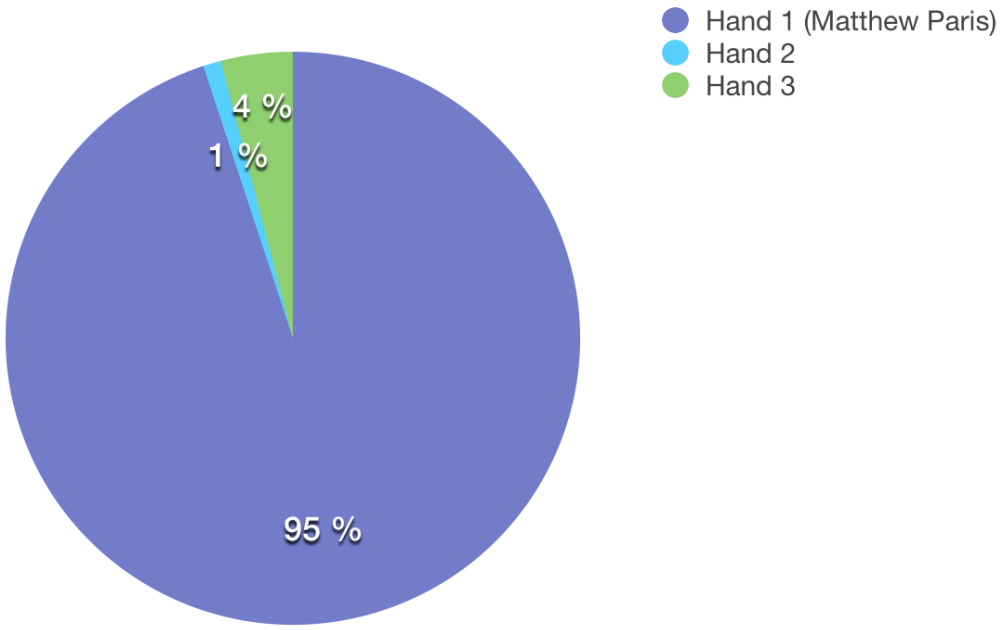

Figure 4.14. Global percentages of hand distribution in BL Royal MS 14 C VII.

Hand 1 – Matthew Paris (2r-154vb22; 157r-210ra)[44]

Hand 2 (154vb23 – 156v)[45]

According to Vaughan, this manuscript was written c.1250. It must precede BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, which was written in c.1255, as the Claudius manuscript contains the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*, which is an abridgement of the *Historia Anglorum*.[46] The last leaves of the *Historia Anglorum* are written by Hand 2, and we find this hand again in the second section of the Claudius manuscript, that is, in the final leaves of the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*. Given not only the evident palaeographical similarity, but also the similarity of placing within the manuscript – at the end of a certain work – and the relationship between the two manuscripts, it is safe to assume Claudius' Hand 2 and Royal's Hand 2 are the same. The palaeographical description of Royal's

[44] For a collection of characteristic letterforms: https://goo.gl/NYs63P
[45] For a collection of characteristic letterforms: https://goo.gl/wE90Ho
[46] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris,* 49, 110.

Hand 2 is identical to that of Claudius' Hand 2, and also they are a match as well in average angle of writing in relation to the baseline (42°, in a range from 34° to 52°). Therefore, Hand 2 in BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI is written by the same scribe (Scribe A) that writes Hand 2 in BL Royal MS 14 C VII, which is demonstrated at the end of this chapter.

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Figure 4.15. BL Royal MS 14 C VII (Hand 2), 155ra16-31 and 156rb36-50.

Hand 3 (210rb2 – 218v)[47]

This hand – written at an average angle with the baseline of 39° from the baseline, ranging from 35° to 46° - is morphologically quite similar to Hand 2. However, there are a few characteristics that help telling them apart. Firstly, it has fewer looping strokes, particularly in letter **g** when connecting with a superscript vowel. Also, and as will be described, vertical **s** has unique characteristics. Ascenders are usually flat-topped or wedged, with a few instances of wavy tops. Coloured initials are also a differentiating element as they are plain in Hand 3 but flourished in Hand 2. Overall, Hand 3 displays fewer features of cursivity, particularly a lesser degree of pen-lift, than Hand 2.

Caroline **a** in this hand has some variety in the height of the head, with many examples of exaggeratedly tall heads as in Paris's script. The bowl tends to be square and the back almost upright. There are instances of the letter linking with the next through the closing of the bowl. A narrow round **a** is also present in this hand, with regular features and an angular appearance. Letter **d** – only found in uncial form - shows a lack of consistency in the angles of the ascenders in relation to the baseline, which averages at 41° but oscillates between 26° and 53°. The ascenders do not generally curl, although in very few occasions a full loop can be observed. Letter **e**, on the contrary, is more consistent and is generally written with the tongue at an average of 40° in relation to the baseline. The lower curve is round and the top stroke creates an angled top, with the tongue usually connecting with the next letter.

Letter **g** is quite stable, with an 8-like shape that only changes in the angularity of the tail and bowl and with a round body. Only on occasion do we find a long **g** extending below the preceding letters. Vertical **s**, on the other hand, displays a particularly long, horizontal head that can be curved upwards. It does not show a serif on the shaft. In terms of abbreviation, tironian *et*, the sign of -b*us* and the sign of *con-* are useful for identification purposes. Tironian *et* is upright with a generally straight cross-stroke and a wavy upper stroke. The second stroke of -b*us* generally has an open second curve that makes the overall shape look like an exaggerated number 3. The end of the stroke is either straight or turns back to the right. Lastly, the sign of *con-* keeps a regular shape throughout the manuscript, with an open curve that turns right at the end very much like most of the scribal hands that have been described here.

[47] For a collection of characteristic letterforms: https://goo.gl/5IqPjY

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Figure 4.16. BL Royal MS 14 C VII (Hand 3), 211rb1-17 and 217ra20-36.

Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 16 II[48]

This manuscript contains the second part of the *Chronica Majora*, and bears the *siglum* B in the Rolls Series editions and in Vaughan's works, chronicling the period 1189-1253.[49] According to Vaughan's textual dating, this manuscript was compiled between c.1240-1251, and it was part of the same manuscript as A (CCCC MS 26), which was divided in two in 1250.[50] The separation between CCCC MS 16 I and II was made in 2003, separating between prefatory materials and the *Chronica Majora*.[51] CCCC MS 16 I contains a genealogy of kings, a diagram of the winds, an itinerary to the Holy Land and a drawing of an elephant (as in BL Cotton MS Nero D I), all in the hand of Matthew Paris.

The codicology of this manuscript is stable, as it is written in two columns of an average of 56 lines. There are numerous annotations by Matthew Paris throughout, together with drawings and with some added leaves (modern, replacing lost text in 4r-11v and 233r-234v) and half-leaves (44r/v and 136r/v). There are four scribal hands other than Paris's in this manuscript. However, these hands are found in just 20% of the text, as the vast majority was copied by Paris. From these other scribal hands, Hand 1 is the one that writes the most. Hands 3 and 4 write small portions of text, and Hand 5 exclusively writes over erasures in the last section of the manuscript.

The text of CCCC MS 16 II has been edited twice: first, in Parker's edition of 1589; and second, as part of the Rolls Series by Luard.[52] It has also been partially translated, first in an edition by Giles in 1889, and more recently by Vaughan in a selection of historical highlights.[53] The composition of the manuscript, its authorship and its possible chronology were analysed not only by Luard (1872) and in Vaughan's *Matthew Paris* (1958), but also in scholarship from between the two.[54] However, it was Vaughan who settled the debate with his hypothesis of an AB manuscript (CCCC MS 26 and 16).[55]

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[48] Online digitised version: https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/qt808nj0703
[49] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 21.
[50] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 60-1; James, *A descriptive catalogue*, I, 54-8.
[51] Catalogue of the Parker Library on the Web: https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/rb378fk5493
[52] Parker, *Matthaei Paris monachi*; *CM*, II, III, IV and V.
[53] Giles's translation of the *Chronica Majora* goes from 1235 to 1275, effectively covering part of CCCC MS 16 II (Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History*); Vaughan translates select entries for the period 1247-50 in Vaughan (ed.), *The Illustrated Chronicles*, 1-203.
[54] Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris*; Powicke, 'The Compilation of the *Chronica Majora*'.
[55] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 49-77.

The distribution of the hands in the manuscript is as follows:

1r – 14v: Hand 1

4r - 11v: Later insert (replacing lost text)

15r - 16v: Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)

17r - 36rb12: Hand 1

36rb12 - 36vb40: Hand 3

37rb: Hand 1

37vab40: Hand 3

37vb41 – 50r: Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)

- 44r/v: Inserted half-leaf

50v - 53r: Hand 3

53va1-32: Hand 2 (Matthew Paris, over erasure)

53va33 – 54r: Hand 3

54v – 58v: Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)

59r - 65vb19: Hand 3

65vb19 – 106vb25: Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)

106vb26-51: Hand 3

107r – 113v: Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)

114r - 114vb14: Hand 4

114vb15 – 143v: Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)

- 136 r/v: Inserted half-leaf

144ra1-8: Later hand

144ra9-14: Hand 5 (over erasure)

144ra14-48: Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)

- 144ra48-51: Hand 5 (over erasure)

144ra51 – b46: Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)

- 144rb46-49: Hand 5 (over erasure)

144rb49 – 144va7: Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)

- 144va8-16: Hand 5 (over erasure)

144va17- 158rb28: Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)

- 158rb28-32: Hand 5 (over erasure)

158rb33 – 222v: Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)

- 165va4, 5, 7: Hand 5 (over erasure)
- 178va43-48: Hand 5 (over erasure)
- 198rb25-28: Hand 5 (over erasure)

233r-234v: Later insert (replacing lost text)

235r-284v: Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)

- 236ra1-11: Hand 5 (over erasure)

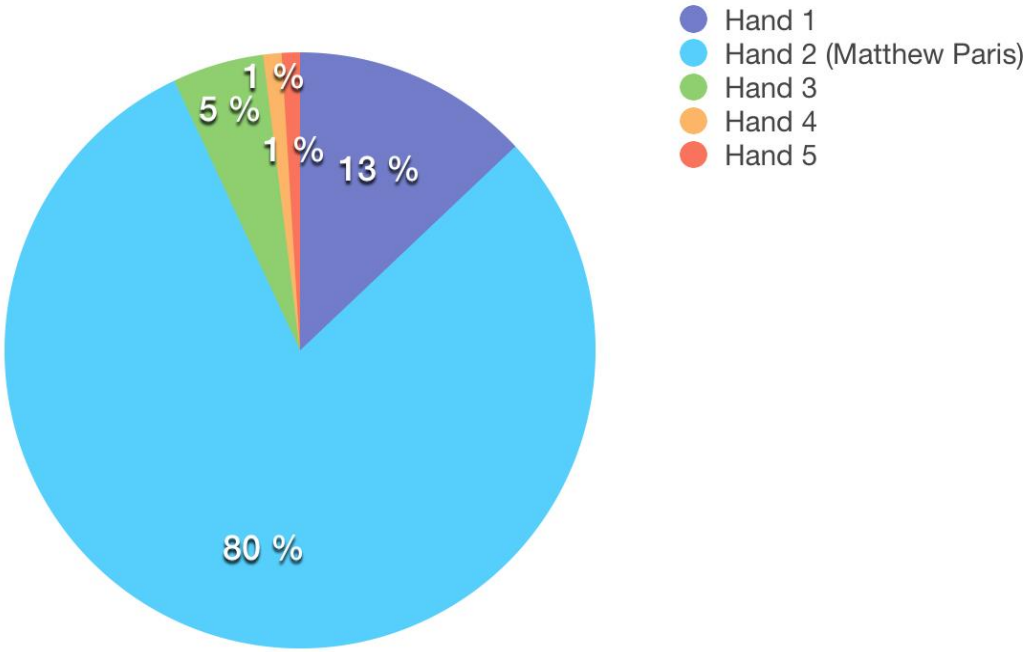

Figure 4.17. Global percentages of hand distribution in CCCC MS 16 II.

Hand 1 (1r – 14v; 17r-36rb12; 37rb)

This hand writes in the first section of the manuscript, starting on the entries for 1189-1195 (1r-14v); 1196-1213 (17r-36rb12); and part of another entry for 1213 (37rb). Hand 1 displays bold and round shapes with downstrokes that tend to slant to the left, which gives the hand a slightly angled aspect. it is written at an average angle – in relation to the baseline – of 48° (in a range from 43° to 52°). This is a hand that shows variability in some allographs, particularly **d**, **g**, tironian *et* and the suspension form of -b*us*, although the general aspect remains stable.

The most distinctive allographs from the digital annotations are caroline **a**, **g**, tironian *et*, and -b*us*. Caroline **a** shows a large bowl that can be round or slightly squared, which is the main identifying feature. There is variety in the shape of the head, which can be open or closed, round or angled;

and a characteristic straight stroke that 'closes' the bowl, leaving a striking indentation at the top of the bowl. **g** in Hand 1 is characterised by a narrow, angled lower body that helps giving the hand a slanted appearance. However, this is not the only way in which it can be found, as there are also instances of a rounder lower body, almost 8-like, and of hooked and open ones, particularly in the last stint of the hand (37r). The upper body is narrow, with the two strokes forming it usually clearly distinguishable. Tironian *et* displays two main types – crossed and uncrossed – in equal proportions, except for 37r, when crossed *et* takes over completely. The top stroke always displays a pronounced upward start and is generally wavy. The downstroke is slightly angled, and shows small feet throughout. Lastly, the suspension form of -b*us* also contributes to the overall slant of the hand, as the downstroke is usually placed at a close angle. However, this long and angled downstroke is not the only way in which it can appear: throughout Hand 1's stints, the downstroke becomes rounder, more 3-like, and less angled, being almost vertical in 37r.

Apart from the above essential differentiation criteria, there are other relevant characteristics that define Hand 1. Tops can be either flat – with a straight horizontal line on top – or forked with a small split. **d** displays both uncial and vertical forms in relatively equal proportions. The ascender of uncial **d** is written at an average angle – in relation to the baseline – of 52°, in a wide range from 26° to 64°. The ascenders tend to be straight and short, growing in length through the stint, except for some instances – when **d** is to the right of the intercolumn space – in which the ascender is long and horizontal. Vertical **d** is usually flat-topped and displays a round bowl which, similarly to caroline **a**, tends to be square.

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Figure 4.18. CCCC MS 16 II (Hand 1), 1rb8-22 and 37rb1-12.

Hand 2 – Matthew Paris (15r- 16v; 37vb41 – 50r; 53va1-32, over erasure; 54v – 58v; 65vb19 – 106vb25; 107r – 113v; 114vb15 – 143v; 144ra14-48; 144ra51 – b46; 144rb49 – 144va7; 144va17 - 158rb28; 158rb33 – 222v; 235r-284v)

Hand 3 (36rb12-37vb40; 50v-53r; 53va33 – 54r; 59r - 65vb19; 106vb26-51)

Hand 3 writes relatively short sections of text, starting with entries for 1213 (36rb12-37vb 40); further entries for 1216 (including the coronation of Henry III, 50v-53r and 53va33-54r) and for 1219-1225 (59r-65vb19); and part of an entry for 1237 (106vb26-51). In terms of aspect, Hand 3 is bold, angular and mostly vertical, and it is written at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 46° (in a range from 37° to 51°).

The main allographs the help identify this hand are caroline **a**, **b**, **d**, **g**, **h** and the suspension form of -b*us*. The main characteristic of caroline **a** is the head, which is usually longer than the bowl below. The bowl goes from large and round to more angular shapes that are open underneath. **b** is mostly left open, except in few occasions where it is closed by an angled stroke. The shaft is flat-topped, while the bowl is round yet narrow. Allograph **d** is generally uncial, but occasionally shows vertical instances. The ascender of uncial **d** – written at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 51°, in a range from 37° to 63° - tends to be longer than in Hand 1, and is straight, with a round bowl. Straight **d** is flat-topped and displays a large, round bowl. In Hand 3, letter **g** has a characteristically angled lower body, starting as a round stroke and closing at an angle with a straight line. This remains constant throughout the stint, although it becomes narrower in 106v. The upper body remains regular, round yet narrow. Letter **h** is characterised by its long and curved downstroke, which sometimes closes the letter as it touches the foot of the shaft. The shaft is flat-topped, and the join between shaft and downstroke is angled. Lastly, the suspension for -b*us* displays two different types: one in which the downstroke – formed of two commas - ends with a curve upwards, and one that is just the straight juxtaposition of two commas. The former is quite angular, with two bold commas that are placed in a straight vertical line or only slightly angled. The end of the stroke, however, curves upward like a hook. The latter type ends in a small curve or, more frequently, it ends with the second comma. Apart from these characteristics, it is worth noting also that this hand uses ampersand quite frequently, while also using tironian *et*. The latter displays a slightly angled or straight downstroke and a flat top, and it is always found crossed.

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Figure 4.19. CCCC MS 16 II (Hand 3), 36rb24-37 and 65va1-13.

Hand 4 (114r- 114vb14)

This hand appears only in one folio, 114, which contains part of two letters by Gregory IX (1227-1241) from 1237. This collaboration appears between parts of the manuscript written by Paris. Hand 4 displays a rather straight aspect, with long ascenders that curve or close at the end.

It is a carefully written hand, somewhat artificial, and it stands out because of its ascenders and descenders, and its stability in ascender and minim height. This hand is written at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 48°, ranging from 40° to 56°.

The most remarkable allographs in this hand are **b**, **d**, **g**, **h**, vertical **s**, tironian *con-* and -b*us*. **b** can be characterised by its tall ascender ending with a forked top with a wide split. The small bowl is round and generally closed. Uncial **d**, similarly, displays long straight ascenders. Although it is written at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 51° (in a range from 42° to 63°), there are just two instances of a horizontal ascender when next to the margin. Following the trend of most of the hands in this manuscript, except for Paris's, **g** shows an angled lower body. Occasionally, the closing stroke extends beyond the lower body, while the overall axis of the letter is less tilted to the left than Hand 1. **h**, as letter **b**, displays a long, straight shaft with a forked top with a large split, although there are a few flat-topped examples. The downstroke is curved and not particularly large, going just below the baseline or sitting on it. The foot of the shaft makes the letter usually close. Vertical **s** is characteristic in that the head closes on the ascender at an angle, forming a loop. The usual protrusion to the left is present, although it sometimes is formed by a horizontal line across the shaft. It is markedly footed, and double minim-height. The shape of tironian *con-* is unusual in Hand 4 in in that is similar to a compact upper-case **q** or a number 2, starting with a round bowl that ends in a wavy stroke to the right. It does not go below the baseline, and usually stays at minim-height. Lastly, the suspension for -b*us* is, like *con-*, quite regular. The downstroke is 3-like and usually goes just below the baseline, and displays round shapes and a straight axis. For comparison purposes, it is relevant to describe tironian *et*, which is found crossed and flat-topped, with an almost-vertical downstroke.

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Figure 4.20. CCCC MS 16 II (Hand 4), 114rb1-12 and 114va1-13.

Hand 5 (over erasures: 144ra9-14; 144ra48-51; 144rb46-49; 144va8-16; 158rb28-32; 165va4, 5, 7; 178va43-48; 198rb25-28 and 236ra1-11)

Hand 5 in this manuscript corresponds to few lines across many leaves, as it writes over erasures in the last part of the manuscript, from 144r to 236r. The scribe writing this hand writes over erasures on entries from 1241 to 1250. This bold hand, written at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 43° (ranging from 32° to 56°), displays round shapes and changes within the same allographs.

The main allographs that aid the identification of Hand 5 are caroline **a**, **d**, **h**, vertical **s**, tironian *con-* and the general sign of abbreviation. Caroline **a** shows a variety of shapes, from a completely closed head, to a tall head that rises above minim height. The bowl tends to be square, although there are examples of rounder shapes. Uncial **d** displays long and short ascenders, at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 37° (in a wide range from 29° to 49°). Ascenders are usually straight, although there is a tendency to curving the tip of the ascender upwards. The bowl is generally round. **h**, on the other hand, shows a short downstroke and a shaft that is either forked or boldly wedged. The shaft is always footed, occasionally closing the space between shaft and downstroke. The most remarkable characteristic of vertical **s** is the head, which is long and usually straight. The ascender does not display a protrusion to the left, and it is markedly footed. Tironian *con-* shows a certain lack of homogeneity, with 9-like and more open examples. Lastly, the general sign of abbreviation also shows a variety, with straight long signs alongside curved and wavy examples. Apart from these characteristic allographs, it is relevant to add that Hand 5 uses both caroline and round **a** (although caroline **a** is far more numerous), and that **g** can be found either with a closed and angled trapezoidal lower body or an open, hooked version. Lastly tironian *et* is mostly crossed, with a wavy top and nearly straight downstroke, with long feet.

Images removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 4.21. CCCC MS 16 II (Hand 5) 144ra9-14 (over erasure) and 144va8-16 (over erasure).

Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 26[56]

This manuscript contains the first part of the *Chronica Majora* (*siglum* A in the Rolls Series editions and in Vaughan's works), which chronicles the period from the Creation to 1188.[57] The text was dated by Vaughan to have been compiled at the same time as CCCC MS 16 II, given that they are

[56] Online digitised version: https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/rf352tc5448
[57] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 21; James, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, I, 50-3.

considered to have been a single manuscript up to c. 1250, that is, c. 1240-1251.[58] This manuscript, in relation to the other manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora* (CCCC MS 16 II and BL Royal MS 14 C VII) is remarkable in that the hand that writes the most is not Paris's. As detailed below, Paris's participation in main-text writing amounts to just 11% of the whole manuscript, with Hand 1 being predominant with 62%.

The codicology of this manuscript is stable and, as expected, equal to CCCC MS 16 II. The text is written in two columns of an average of 56 lines. Although Paris does not participate in the copying of the main text as much as in other manuscripts, he is very much present throughout though annotations, which are numerous and occasionally lengthy. Paris also adds half-leaves throughout the manuscript (8r-10v, 19r/v and 127r-128v) and the usual drawings, shields and other explanatory symbols. There are, apart from Paris's, three scribal hands in this manuscript. Hands 2 and 3 are the ones that write the most, with Paris and Hand 4 copying small portions of text.

The text of CCCC MS 26 was edited by Parker in 1589 and by Luard as part of the Rolls Series.[59] Together with CCCC MS 16 II, this manuscript has been analysed in order to understand Paris's compilation process. As with the previous manuscript, this scholarship is comprised by Luard, Galbraith, Powicke and Vaughan.[60]

The distribution of the hands in the manuscript is as follows:

aR – bV: Later hand (14th century)
iR – viV: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)
1r-7v: Hand 2
8r-10v: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris – added half-leaves)
11r-18v: Hand 2
19r/v: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris – added half-leaf)
20r-31v: Hand 2
32ra1-32: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)
32ra32 – 43vb23: Hand 2

[58] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 60-1.
[59] *Matthaei Paris monachi,* ed. Parker; *CM*, I and II.
[60] Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris*; Powicke, 'The Compilation of the *Chronica Majora*'; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*.

43vb24-41: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

43vb42 – 44ra8 & a11-39: Hand 2

44ra9-10 & a39 – b31: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

44rb32 - 59rb19: Hand 2

59rb20 - 96vb30: Hand 3

96vb30 – 125v: Hand 2

126r/v: Hand 4

127r – 128v: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris – added leaves)

129r-130v: Hand 4

131r-141v: Hand 2

viiR-ixR: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris), plus a later hand (15th-16th century)

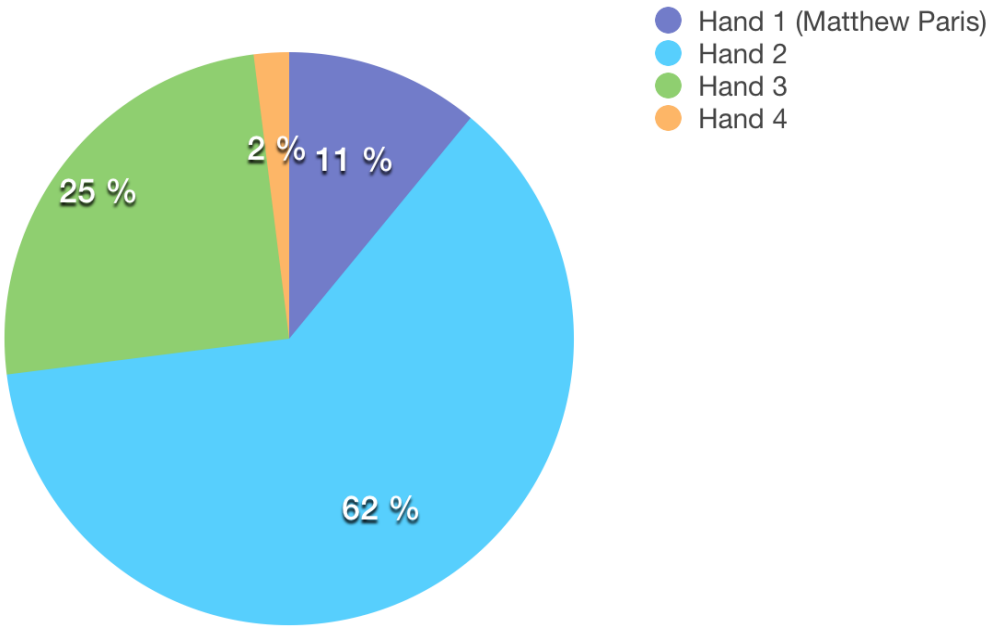

Figure 4.22. Global percentages of hand distribution in CCCC MS 26.

Hand 1 – Matthew Paris (iR – viV; 8r-10v; 19r-19v; 32ra1-32; 43vb24-41; 44ra9-10 & a39 – b31; 127r – 128v; viiR-ixR)

Hand 2 (1r-7v; 11r-18v; 20r-31v; 32ra32 – 43vb23; 43vb42 – 44ra8 & a11-39; 44rb32-59rb19; 96vb30 – 125v; 131r-141v)

This hand is responsible for most of the manuscript. However, noticeable changes in aspect throughout make identification in the later part of the manuscript more doubtful. Thus, until 59r

the characteristics of the hand are homogeneous, yet from 96v there are some changes to several allographs, as detailed below. In terms of aspect, there are continuous changes to module, even within the same leaf, with compressed sections followed by more spread-out text (as in 96v). Overall, it seems the hand gets rounder throughout the manuscript and changes some of its features, but keeping enough of its aspect to be recognisable. However, there is no complete certainty in this identification. Generally, it is a hand written at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 44°, ranging from 37° to 50°.

The main allographs that help identify this hand are **d**, **g**, double-curved **s**, tironian *et*, tironian *con-* and -b*us*. **d** can be found in uncial and vertical forms, although vertical **d** appears more frequently towards the last leaves written by this hand (96v onwards). Uncial **d** displays short ascenders, written at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 54° (in a wide range from 37° to 63°). Vertical **d** displays a round bowl and a bold, usually wedged top. Letter **g** is the letter that varies the most in Hand 2, going from an angled lower body with a long closing stroke to a rounder, 8-like shape that can be found closed or open. These changes are one of the reasons why some of the stints are difficult to ascribe completely to this hand: the angled lower-body **g** gives way to the rounder type from 96v onwards, together with the previously mentioned higher presence of vertical **d**. In both cases the upper body is round, only slightly angled on top. Double-curved **s** is characteristic in that it is particularly numerous throughout Hand 2's stint. In a similar way to letter **g**, double-curved **s** goes from a more angular type to rounder strokes from 96v. However, this change in angularity affects the upper curve only, with the lower curve being more consistent throughout. Tironian *et* also shows two main types, which are clearly distinguishable. The first type is uncrossed and usually flat-topped, with a curved downstroke. The second type is crossed, flat-topped and with a diagonal downstroke. Tironian *con-* is more stable, with a 9-like shape that occasionally adds an upward stroke at the end of the curve. Lastly, the suspension for -b*us* is generally stable – short, 3-like downstroke slightly tilted to the left – although there are some instances throughout of a clear distinction between an upper point and a comma. Overall, this hand displays flat or forked tops and uses mostly round shapes.

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Figure 4.23. CCCC MS 26 (Hand 2), 7ra1-16 and 100rb1-15.

Hand 3 (59rb20 - 96vb30)

This hand is responsible for entries concerning the years 793-1096. It is a less laterally-compressed hand compared to Hand 2, and it is also more uneven in relation to the baseline, with a clear vertical axis. It is a hand written at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 44°, in a range from 37° to 51°.

The allographs that are most helpful for identification purposes are caroline **a**, **d**, **g**, double-curved **s**, tironian *et* and tironian *con-*. Caroline a has a large bowl that usually starts quite high up in the back. The head is long and curved downwards. There are some instances of **a** with a smaller bowl and an even larger head, creating a disproportionate shape. **d** is mostly found in uncial form, although there are some vertical examples. The ascender of uncial **d** – placed at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 45°, in a range from 33° to 61° - is curved, like an inverted number 6. Vertical d is flat-topped with a long and straight stroke. **g** is quite regular throughout, displaying an 8-like shape, with both lower and upper body of the same size and generally aligned. Double-curved **s** is less formed than in Hand 2, as it only has one defined curve (the upper curve). Then a diagonal downstroke goes below the baseline. This creates a diagonally-oriented letterform. Tironian *et* is found crossed and uncrossed in almost equal proportions. It is flat or wavy-topped and the downstroke slants to the left quite markedly, ending in a small foot. Lastly, tironian *con-* is numerous and 9-like, ending right below the baseline. It is round and remarkably stable throughout. Apart from these essential letterforms and abbreviations, Hand 3 shows a rather compact suspension for -b*us*, just sitting on the baseline in a 3-like shape. Additionally, there are some instances of round **a** to be found in Hand 3.

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Figure 4.24. CCCC MS 26 (Hand 3), 60ra35-50 and 93vb1-14.

Hand 4 (126r/v; 129r-130v)

This hand writes entries for the years 1158-59 and the two sections written (12r/v and 129r-130v) are divided by a leaf and an added half-leaf by Matthew Paris. This hand displays round shapes, flat tops and also a certain unevenness in execution. It is written at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 48°, ranging from 44° to 52°.

The most characteristic allographs in Hand 4 are caroline **a**, **b**, **d**, **e**, **g**, vertical **s** and -b*us*. Caroline **a** shows a tendency to square the bowl, although there are still fully round examples. The head is round, sometimes extending beyond the bowl. The most remarkable feature of **b** is the top, which is markedly flat, whether by ending in a triangular shape or by adding an extra horizontal stroke on top. The bowl is left open in top, and it is round yet laterally compressed. Hand 4 uses both uncial and vertical **d**, although uncial **d** is far more common. Its ascender is written at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 48°, in a range from 41° to 61°. Ascenders are long and straight, with a round bowl. Vertical d is flat-topped and also has a round – yet narrower – bowl. The main feature of **e** is its head, which is angular, giving the letter a pointed look. The tongue is placed at an angle, and often protrudes from the body of the letter. By contrast, the lower curve is round. **g** displays an almost triangular lower body, with a closing stroke that often extends beyond the body of the letter. The upper body is round yet slightly narrow. Vertical **s** shows a clear protrusion to the left in the shaft, and the head can be either straight and angled or long with a slight upward curve. It is prominently footed. Lastly, the suspension for -b*us* in Hand 4 can be recognised because of the separation of the downstroke in two distinct commas. The lower comma is placed above or just below the baseline. It is also worth noting that tironian *et* is always crossed and flat-topped, and that the general sign of abbreviation tends to be straight and with marked beginning and end of the stroke.

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Figure 4.25. CCCC MS 26 (Hand 4), 126rb41-55 and 129va10-23.

3.a.vi Corpus Christi College Oxford MS 2

This manuscript, a Bible (Vulgate version), is better known for the map used as a flyleaf than for the text itself. The map – now framed separately as Oxford Corpus Christi College MS 2*-, also known as the Oxford Map, is Matthew Paris's depiction of Palestine, together with notes on the grievances of the English church that were sent to the Pope in 1246 – written in a fuller version in the *Chronica Majora* -, geographical notes and some accounting rough notes.[61] The reverse of the map shows two incomplete religious images - the Deposition and the Three Martyrs at the Sepulchre – which Thomson believes were part of an unfinished Psalter before being added to the manuscript.[62] Harvey believes this folio, when sewn as a flyleaf into the manuscript, was intended to show just the images, but not the map.[63] In terms of handwriting, the map, geographical and accounting notes are Matthew Paris's, but not the list of grievances, although this is still a matter of controversy.[64]

The manuscript (360 x 240 mm) is ruled in pencil and written in two columns of fifty lines, with quire signatures on the last verso of each quire and some catchwords.[65] The text is written in two hands, one of which is Matthew Paris's. Hand 1 is responsible for most of the manuscript, while Paris writes some additional text at the end (*Argumentum* to the Epistle to the Romans), and most rubrics and some annotations throughout, which were described separately.[66] The distribution of the two hands is as follows:

- Hand 1: 3r – 369ra33 (1r-2v correspond to the map of Palestine).
- Hand 2 (Matthew Paris): 369ra34 – 369v. Also rubrics and annotations.

[61] R. M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Western Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2011), 4; *CM*, IV, 527-28.
[62] Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 4.
[63] P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land* (London, 2012), 73.
[64] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, 61; E. Edson, 'Matthew Paris' 'Other' Map of Palestine', *The Map Collector*, 66 (1994), 18-22.
[65] Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 3.
[66] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 391.

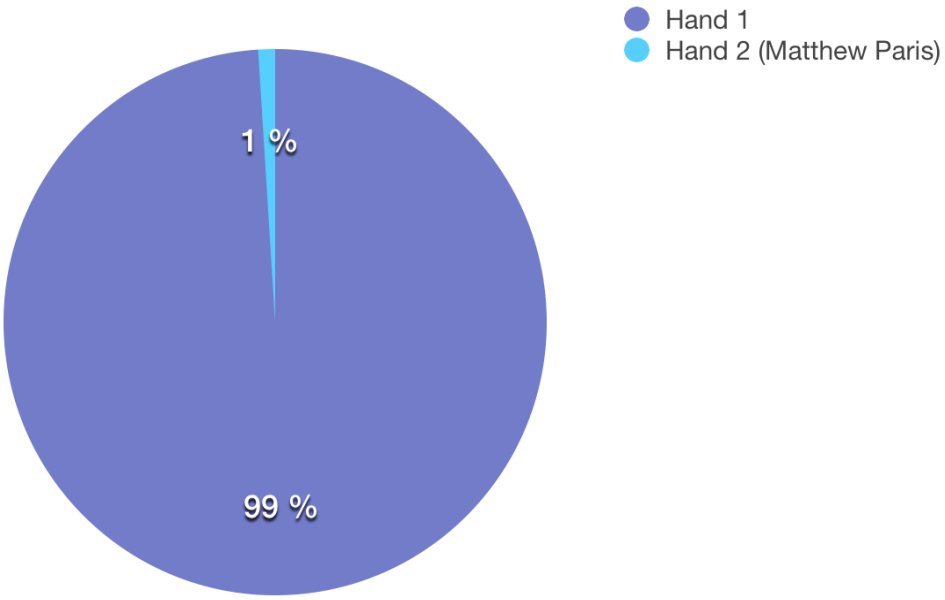

Figure 4.26. Global percentages of hand distribution in CCCO MS 2.

Hand 1 (3r-369ra33)[67]

This hand is formal, bold and regular throughout, written at an average angle of 50° in relation to the baseline (ranging from 40° to 53°). According to Gumbert's Cartesian model, derived from Lieftinck's classification of the Gothic scripts, this script is identified as a *textualis* – characterised by caroline **a**; **f** and **s** sitting on the baseline with feet, and ascenders without loops - with a high grade of execution.[68] The letterform that characterise this hand are caroline **a**, **b**, **d**, **g**, double-curved **s**, tironian *et*, *punctus interrogativus* and the general sign of abbreviation.

Caroline **a** generally presents a round bowl constructed of thick strokes. Its back can be straight or slightly tilted to the left, whilst the head can be either long (thus nearly closing the letter), short or straight, which gives the letter a triangular top. **B** has a narrow and closed bowl, and the ascender is usually flat-topped. It can be also topped with a wavy line. The narrowest versions are closed with a diagonal line linking the outer line of the bowl with the ascender. Letter **d** presents the two types, uncial and vertical. Uncial **d** presents three main subtypes depending on the angle of the ascender: at an average of 42° (ranging from 39-47°); and long, with an exaggerated ascender invading the margin as a horizontal line. The bowl is closed creating an oval space. Vertical **d** is a well-formed footed letter with a round bowl and a flat-topped ascender.

[67] For a collection of characteristic letterforms: https://goo.gl/v9GEuv
[68] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 73.

g's body is oval, with a generally pointed top. There is a certain variety in in the shape of the lower body, from a round 8-like shape to an angular one. Between the round and the angular version, there is a whole area of changing angularity throughout the manuscript, which makes the oval body the only stable characteristic. On the other hand, double-curved **s** presents a sigma-like and a common and angular double-curved version. Sigmatic **s** is made up of an upper curve and a long diagonal down-stroke and, although observed in other hands, has a particularly defined angle of 50° in Hand 1. The upper curve is generally round, although there are some changes in angularity. Double-curved **s**, on the other hand, tend to be quite angular, with both the upper and lower curves being closed and almost rectangular. In most cases at least one of the curves closes (generally the upper curve), and there is a clear, marked contrast in strokes.

Tironian *et* appears both crossed and uncrossed, although the former type is used most of the time. The downstroke is straight, with a flat or slightly upwardly-curved top. The cross-stroke is placed in a diagonal, matching the angle of the foot. In punctuation, it is the *punctus interrogativus* that displays the most interesting characteristics, as it does not display the usual two curves in the upper stroke. Rather, it starts the stroke as an upward line before creating a long curve, like in a *punctus elevatus*. Only in some instances the upper stroke starts as a curve, but in these cases the rest of the stroke is an almost-straight diagonal line upwards. Lastly, the general sign of abbreviation is, as has been observed in other hands, short and horizontal, with only an occasional downward stroke at the end of the sign.

Another feature that has been mentioned for other hands, the serif of the vertical **s**, appears here in the upper section (the top fourth) of the letter rather than in the middle or right at the top. Also, the abbreviation sign for *con-* is written as an inverted letter **c**, whether in a round shape or in a more angular type. Overall, this is a hand that, despite its regularity and apparent uniformity, has a varying degree of angularity in its letterforms.

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Figure 4.27. CCCO MS 2 (Hand 1), 12ra1-19 and 202ra36-50.

Hand 2 - Matthew Paris (369ra34 – 369v)[69]

Cambridge University Library Dd II 78

This manuscript, in quarto format, contains a collection of Latin poetry by Henry d'Avranches (d.1262/3). It is also one of Paris's manuscripts that contains a substantial number of scribal hands, only second to BL Cotton MS Nero D I. The seven hands that participate in the writing of this collection do so unequally, with some hands, like 2 and 5, writing long sections, and others, like 4 and 6, only participating in a single leaf. It is written in a single column, generally with the first letter of each line highlighted and separated in the margin. As described below, there are several blank leaves in the manuscript, all of which are ruled. There are eleven (XI) quires numbered using verso quire signatures, next to which catchwords can be observed (ar-178v). Between 179r and 199v quire signatures are not observed and from 200v until the end of the manuscript in 238v there are four quires numbered I-IV.

The main published descriptions of the manuscript are *A catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge* and Russell and Heironimus's *The shorter Latin poems of master Henry of Avranches relating to England*.[70] Additional palaeographical and historical information is provided by Vaughan's 'The handwriting of Matthew Paris' and *Matthew Paris*.[71] One of the interesting features of this manuscript is that it contains a list of contents in the hand of Matthew Paris. This list was studied by Russell and Hieronimus to ascertain which of the poems were written during Paris's lifetime, and which were added after his death. In this respect, some of the blank leaves detailed below constitute the remainder of longer blank sections that were taken up by additional poems, added during or after Paris's life.[72] In fact, two distinct sections of text (the one including quires I to XI, and the additional quires I to IV) might have been written as different books.[73] This would mean Hand 7, responsible for most leaves from 200r, wrote his text (d'Avranches' *Life of St Francis*) separately, which might be indicated by the fact the reference to this Life in Paris's index is added on aV below the body of text by Paris.[74] In any case, the fact that Russell and Hieronimus did not identify Paris's hand in the manuscript downplays in their

[69] For a collection of characteristic letterforms: https://goo.gl/3auCdJ
[70] *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge,* 6 vols. (Cambridge, 1856-67), 469-76; J. C. Russell and J. P. Heironimus, *The Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches Relating to England* (Cambridge, 1935), 5-11. The most recent edition of most of the poems is *Saints' Lives of Henry of Avranches*, ed. Townsend.
[71] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 391; *Matthew Paris*, 260.
[72] Russell and Heironimus, *The Shorter Latin Poems*, 8.
[73] Russell and Heironimus, *The Shorter Latin Poems*, 9.
[74] CUL Dd 11 78, aV.

study the more direct way in which Paris took part in this compilation, rather than just overseeing its compilation.[75]

The distribution of scribal hands across the manuscript is as follows:

aR-34r – Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)
24v-35r – *Blank*
35v-37v – Hand 2
38r-57v – Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)
58r-60v – Hand 3
61r – Hand 4
61v-148v20 – Hand 5
148v21-153v – Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)
154r-155v – *Blank*
156r-174v – Hand 2
175r-176v – Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)
177r-184v7 – Hand 2
184v8-195v – Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)
196r – Later hand
196v-198v – *Blank*
199r – Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)
199v – Hand 6
200r-238r16 – Hand 7
238r17 – 238v – Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

[75] Russell and Heironimus, *The Shorter Latin Poems*, 9-10.

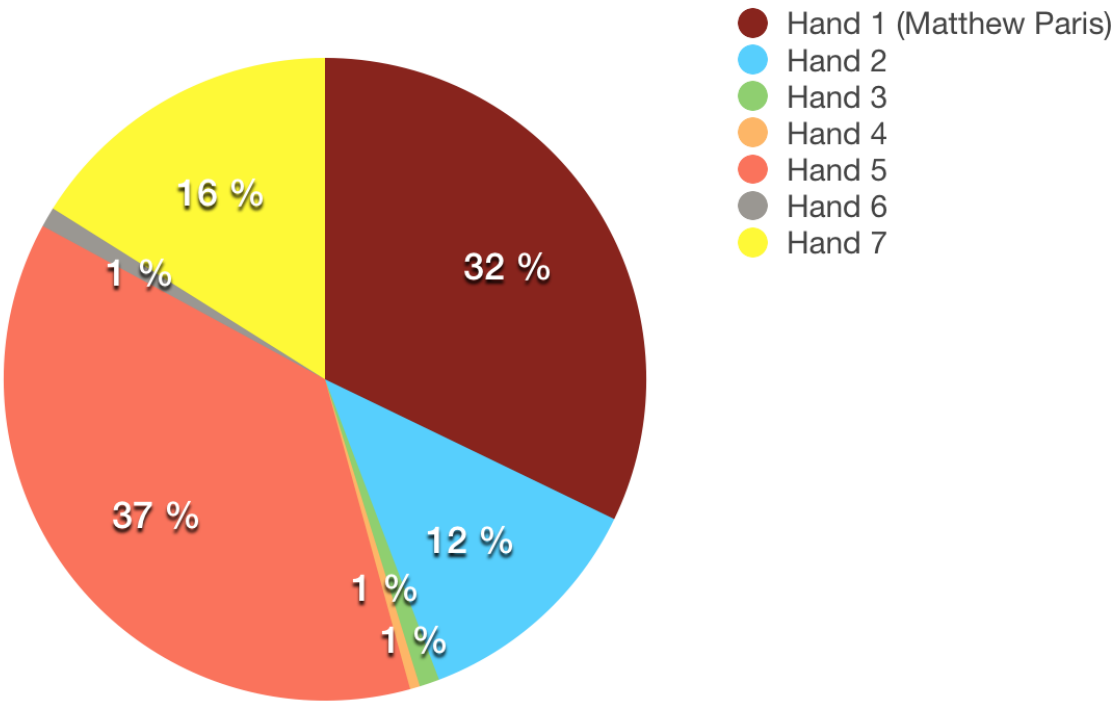

Figure 4.28. Global percentages of hand distribution in CUL Dd 11 78.

Hand 1 - Matthew Paris (aR-34r, 38r-57v, 148v21 – 153v, 175r-176v, 184v8 – 195v, 199r, 238r17 - 238v)[76]

Hand 2 (35v- 37v, 156r-174v, 177r-184v7)

This hand appears in three separate occasions in the manuscript, amounting to a total of twenty-eight and a half leaves. In his first two leaves (35v-37v), Hand 2 writes lines 1584-2667 and 2193-2281 of Alexander of Ville-Dieu's *Doctrinale*, on Latin poetry. This text is not mentioned in the list of contents, and it is not by Henry d'Avranches, which might suggest this is an insert, or that this text was in an original manuscript by d'Avranches, from which this manuscript could have been copied.[77] Hand 2's second stint (156r-174v) contains three texts by Henry d'Avranches ('*Liber de generatione et corruptione materiae*'; epigrams for Robert Passelewe, Eustace Falcoberg and Stephen Langton, among others; and extracts on the Feast of All Saints and 'The knight and the clerk'). Lastly, its last stint (177r-184v7) contains part of a life of St Oswald ('*Vita et passio S. Oswaldi*'), which starts on 175r and finishes on 187r.

[76] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 391.
[77] Russell and Heironimus, *The Shorter Latin Poems,* 9.

Hand 2, which displays an average angle of writing of 64° in relation to the baseline, shows a clear stability across its three stints in the manuscript. Its most recognisable allographs – **b**, **d**, **g**, and **h** – provide a relatively easy way of recognising this hand, as they change little. Letter **b** appears flat-topped, with a finishing horizontal stroke that exceeds the width of the shaft. Occasionally, **b** can be found with a wavy top, although this is rare. The bowl of this letterform is left open, and is generally round, with some instances of a narrower shape. Letter **d** occurs equally in round and straight-backed form. Vertical **d** is, as with **b**, topped with a flat horizontal stroke. It has a straight back, it displays a generally closed bowl and it is footed. Uncial **d**, on the other hand, displays a short, straight and angled ascender at an average angle of 35°, a relatively closed angle. The next characteristic letterform is **g**, which appears both in an 8-like and in a trapezoidal/angled form. In both cases, the upper body is closer to an ellipse than to a circle, as it is narrow and large. In its 8-like shape, **g** shows a smaller and round lower body that is cut in the middle by the baseline. Trapezoidal **g**, similarly to other hands and to Matthew Paris, shows a lower body closed by an angled and long diagonal stroke that exceeds the body of the letter, thus forming a trapezoidal shape. Lastly, **h** is found with a flat top (as in **b** and vertical **d**) and it is generally closed, as the foot of the shaft is pronounced. The descender does not always extend below the baseline, as it is not particularly large. This makes the letterform look less narrow and squarer.

Other characters of interest are double-compartment **a**, the form of tironian *et* and the general sign of abbreviation, each of which merit further discussion. There are no observed examples of round **a** in Hand 2. Double-compartment **a** displays a straight back and an angular head, which infrequently can be found closed. The bowl is halfway between round and square, and can often be found open. Tironian *et*, on the other hand, is always found crossed, and with a flat top-stroke, and with a vertical downstroke ending in a small foot. The general sign of abbreviation is not uncommon in relation to other scribal hands, although it is slightly longer than most. It can present a downstroke on the right, on the left or on both.

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Figure 4.29. CUL Dd 11 78 (Hand 2), 36ra17-27 and 184ra19-31.

Hand 3 (58r-60v)

This hand only appears for three leaves, copying a versified version of Donatus on metre (*Libellus Donati metrici*…). It only copies this particular text, which may indicate a self-contained contribution. Its average angle of writing in relation to the baseline (42º, in a range from 30º to 47º) is also more contrasted and bolder than Hand 2. It is also relevant that, even though it appears in a relatively small portion of the manuscript, it displays a great number of examples of tironian *con-*, which is rare in comparison with all other scribal hands.

The most characteristic allographs in this hand are **b**, **g**, **h**, double-curved **s**, tironian *et* and tironian *con-*. Letter **b** is characteristic because of its high, open and round bowl that reaches above the middle of the shaft. It displays a wedged and flat top. Letter **g** varies in its degree of angularity. The trapezoidal lower body can be found closed off by an angled and straight line that is generally quite pronounced, giving the letter a triangular lower shape. The bowl is usually round. In a similar fashion to Hand 2, **h** in Hand 3 is found closed. However, in Hand 3 the downstroke turns to the left, enclosing the letterform even more. The footed shaft is usually found topped by a wavy line. Double-curved **s** can be found either with an extended upper curve, or with an almost vertical lower curve. The former extends horizontally with a straight or slightly curved line, also displaying quite an angular lower curve. The latter displays a rather angled upper curve and an almost straight lower curve that brings it closer to vertical **s** than to double-curved **s**. In terms of abbreviation signs, tironian *et* is found uncrossed and with a wavy top-stroke, pronounced foot and almost straight downstroke. As mentioned above, tironian *con-* appears repeatedly in Hand 3's stint, and is 9-like, usually open and with a short endstroke that goes just below the baseline.

Among the rest of the annotated allographs, the suspension of -b*us* is remarkable because its downstroke remains just on the baseline instead of extending below it. Allograph **a** is not found in its round form, and caroline **a** shows a characteristic square bowl with a slightly tilted back to the left. **d** is only found in its uncial version, with short and slightly curved ascenders (at an average angle of 33º) and a round bowl. On the other hand, **e** shows a particularly angular head, with the upper stroke resembling a wedge on occasion. Lastly, the *punctus elevatus* is also relatively characteristic because it is variable, from an extended upper comma (tick-like) to a small and closed curve.

Images removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 4.30. CUL Dd 11 78 (Hand 3), 58ra17-28 and 58va1-10.

Hand 4 (61r)

This hand only writes on 61r, making it – together with Hands 5 and 7 – one of the least contributing hands in the manuscript. 61r marks the start of the Life of St Guthlac ('*Vita beati Guthlaci*'), which has been attributed to William of Ramsey (1191-1236) rather than to Henry d'Avranches.[78] This text extends beyond 61r, ending in 92r.

Hand 4 – with an average angle of writing of 41° - displays some idiosyncrasies that make identification simpler than in other cases. Caroline **a**, uncial **d**, **e**, **g**, **h** and tironian *et* are the most characteristic features in this hand, which generally displays round shapes, long ascenders and split tops. Caroline **a** displays round and open bowls, whereas the head is open and quite long, bringing the stroke parallel to the leftmost side of the bowl. It has a straight back and is usually footed. Uncial **d** – there are no instances of vertical **d** in Hand 4 – displays long and straight ascenders that are usually slightly curved at the start (at an average angle of 43°), with round bowls. Letter **e** is relatively similar to Matthew Paris's, as the top section is angular and almost tick-like, with a round lower curve. The next characteristic letterform is **g**, which is generally round and 8-like, with a lower curve that is crossed in the middle by the baseline. In **h** we can find the split tops mentioned above, much in the line of Matthew Paris's own large split ascenders. The descender goes below the baseline only slightly, while the letter does not generally close. Lastly, tironian *et* is found both crossed and uncrossed, with a diagonal body and a straight topstroke with a starting vertical stroke. In addition to these essential characteristics, Hand 4 also displays a 9-like tironian *con-* – with a turned-in downstroke that accentuates the roundness of the sign -, large-split ascenders in **b**, and double-curved **s** with a closed upper curve.

[78] Russell and Heironimus, *The Shorter Latin Poems*, 14-5.

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Figure 4.31 CUL Dd 11 78 (Hand 4), 61ra11-27.

Hand 5 (61v-148v20)

This hand continues the narration of the Life of St Guthlac, which ends in 92r. This hand is also responsible for writing up a text on the rebuilding and translation of Salisbury Cathedral (*De translatione ueteris ecclesiae Saresburensis*…, 92v-96r), a text on Rome and Innocent III (*Versus de allegationibus et responsionibus*…, 96r-104v), the Life of St Fremund (*Vita S. Fredemundi regis et martyris*, 105v-113v, possibly by William of Ramsey), the Life of St Birinus (*Vita S. Birini episcopi et confessoris*, 113v-125v), Life of St Edmund (*Vitae S. Edmundis regis et martyris*, 125v-136v, possibly by William of Ramsey), two hymns to St Edmund (*Stupet caro, stupet mundus*…, 137r), a text in honour of St Thomas Becket (*Versus de S Thoma archiepiscopo*, 137v-142v), and the life of St Crispin and St Crispinian (*De sanctis martyribus Crispino et Crispiniano*, 142v-148v).[79] Similar to Hand 5, this hand writes at an average angle of 43-46°.

[79] Russell and Heironimus, *The Shorter Latin Poems*, xiii-xxiii; *A Catalogue*, 472-3.

The most relevant characters that help identify this hand are caroline **a**, **b**, uncial **d**, **g**, **h**, double-curved **s** and tironian *con-*. Caroline **a** quite often displays a back that extends underneath the letter. The bowl is at a slight angle, while the head is round and short. Letter **b** usually displays a small split top, although on one occasion there is a large split that is quite similar to Matthew Paris's. It has an open, round bowl. The roundness of the bowl and the closed angle of the short and slightly curved ascender (at an average of 42°) make uncial **d** recognisable. **g** is another letterform that shows elements that we can observe in Paris's hand. Apart from a trapezoidal form, which is ubiquitous, there are also a few instances of a long lower body that extends to the left, starting a loop. Letter **h**, on the other hand, is sometimes disjointed and displays small split tops and sometimes flat tops, together with a descender that extends only slightly below the baseline. Double-curved **s** is distinguished both by its angularity and some instances of an extended upper curve. The lower curve tends to be closed in most occasions, and there are some few instances of **s** with a long, almost vertical, descender. Lastly, tironian *con-* is 9-like and angular, although on occasion the downstroke ends in a horizontal stroke. Apart from these characteristic allographs, there are other characters that are also relevant in identifying this hand. **e**, for instance, displays a rather angular head, while vertical **s** shows a particularly prominent protrusion to the left. Tironian *et* is found mostly uncrossed (only once it is found crossed) and it displays a wavy top that can have a long approach stroke.

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Figure 4.32. CUL Dd 11 78 (Hand 5), 62ra15-27 and 109ra1-10.

Hand 6 (199v)

After stints written by Matthew Paris, Hand 2 and a later hand, Hand 6 appears only in 199v. The text copied by this hand – self-contained in 199v - is possibly by Philip de Grève (d. 1236/7), *Controversia inter cor et oculum*, on the relationship between the heart and the eye. It is generally an irregular hand, written at an average angle of 39°, with some important differences between instances of the same character, while also presenting a great deal of disjointed strokes.

The defining characteristics of this hand are caroline **a**, **d**, **g**, vertical **s**, tironian *con-* and the *punctus interrogativus*. Caroline **a** – Hand 6 does not present any instances of round **a** – displays quite a large space between the bowl and the top of the curved head, without being a large-head **a**. The bowl is usually round, on occasion open at the top, and the back is generally straight. Hand 6 does not provide any examples of vertical **d**. Uncial **d** displays an average angle of the ascender of 57°, which is quite open in comparison with other hands in the same manuscript. The ascenders are long and almost in all cases slightly wavy, ending sometimes in an upwards curve. The bowl is generally round and closed. Hand 6's letter **g** is the most remarkable in this manuscript, and in fact in the whole corpus, as it presents an open and hooked lower body. The upper body is generally round, although with a tendency towards angular strokes. Vertical **s** displays few examples of extended feet, which gives the letter a large c-like appearance. The serif to the left is present, and the head is general round and long. Tironian *con-* can be differentiated from that of other hands in that it is narrower and more vertical, with the downstroke going further below the baseline without curving upwards. Lastly, the *punctus interrogativus* appears several times in this text, which gives us the opportunity to observe that it is formed by two well-joint curves at an angle. The upper curve is larger and more open than the lower. Other letterforms such as **b** show ascenders are usually topped with a small fork or a wavy line, and that the bowl tends to be left open. Lastly, the general sign of abbreviation is a short, straight line that sometimes appears angled.

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Figure 4.33. CUL Dd 11 78 (Hand 6), 199va1-14.

Hand 7 (200r-238r16)

The last hand that appears in this manuscript appears for a large stint, covering a single text, a Life of St Francis (*Super vitam beati Francisci*…, 200r-238ra16). This life is dedicated to Pope Gregory IX, which implies that the text must have been composed before 1242. This is a well-formed and bold hand that writes at an average angle of 50°, and it displays some unique characteristics that set it apart from all other scribal hands in this manuscript.

The most representative allographs in Hand 7 are caroline **a**, **b**, **d**, **h**, vertical **s**, tironian *et* and the form of suspension of -b*us*. Caroline **a** shows a distinct back slightly tilted to the left, sometimes going below the bowl. The head is round and long, but without closing, and the bowl is generally round, sometimes open at the top. Letter **b** differentiates itself from other hands because it always appears with a closed bowl. The bowl itself is generally round, but there are narrower versions. The shaft is slightly engrossed at the top, but it is left without a clear shape, although on occasion it appears wavy. The most remarkable feature of uncial **d** is its rather closed angle of the ascender (averaging at 28°). It is generally a round letterform, and frequently the bowl is left open. Another representative letterform is **h**, which displays a long and curved descender that goes well below the baseline. As with b, the shaft of **h** is left without a clear top, although we can

find instances of an angled top. There are, uniquely in this manuscript, examples of **h** with a round joint between shaft and descender. Vertical s displays two shapes: the usual baton shape – although without feet, and quite bold -, and a footed version with a wavy shaft, rather similar to Paris's 'broken-back **s**'. In both cases the head is round. Tironian *et* is idiosyncratic because of its topstroke, which is exaggeratedly wavy. The downstroke is vertical and crossed. Lastly, the suspension for -b*us* shows the usual 3-like downstroke. However, the first curve coincides with the bottom of the bowl, leaving almost the whole of the second curve below the baseline.

Apart from the above-mentioned allographs, there are others that are also relevant in the identification of this hand. **e** displays a round shape, although the tongue can on occasion be angled and straight. Decidedly trapezoidal, **g** closes the trapeze with an angled and straight stroke that does not go beyond the letter. And lastly, the general sign of abbreviation is short and straight, with some instances of a slight curve.

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Figure 4.34. CUL Dd 11 78 (Hand 7), 200ra11-23 and 236ra25-34.

Chetham's Library Manchester MS 6712

This manuscript contains Matthew Paris's *Flores Historiarum*, which reworks and enlarges Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*. It is comprised of 295 leaves, and includes both Paris's section of the *Flores* and a continuation up to 1236.[80] The text is distributed in two columns with an average of thirty-eight lines per column. There is another manuscript containing Paris's *Flores* – Windsor, Eton College MS 123, known as the Merton *Flores* – which a copy of the Chetham's text.[81] The text was edited by Luard for the Rolls Series.[82]

It was observed by Ker that in this manuscript there is a mix between writing above and below top line, indicating 'the difference in this particular respect at this date between the scribes who had learned to write the small expert book script and the scribes like Paris himself who had not learned to write it'.[83] Before Matthew Paris himself starts to write in f. 170v, the text is placed below top line. However, when Paris takes over he writes above the top line in archaising fashion. The following hands (3 and 4) continue this practice, until from 201v onwards the text is placed again below the top line.

[80] Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/book/5655/?search_term=flores%20historiarum&page_size=500, accessed 31 May 2018.
[81] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 92.
[82] *FH*.
[83] N. R. Ker, 'From "Above Top Line" to "Below Top Line": A Change in Scribal Practice', *Celtica,* V (1960), 13-16.

There are five scribal hands at work in this manuscript, one of which (Hand 2) is Matthew Paris's, whilst Hand 1 is the main hand, responsible for 163 leaves. The four non-Paris hands are distinct and more formal than Paris's, and are unequally distributed throughout the manuscript.

- Hand 1: 7r-170va.[84]
- Hand 2 (Matthew Paris): 170vb – 200va.
- Hand 3: 200vb – 201rb23.
- Hand 4: 201rb24-38.
- Hand 5: 201v – 247r.

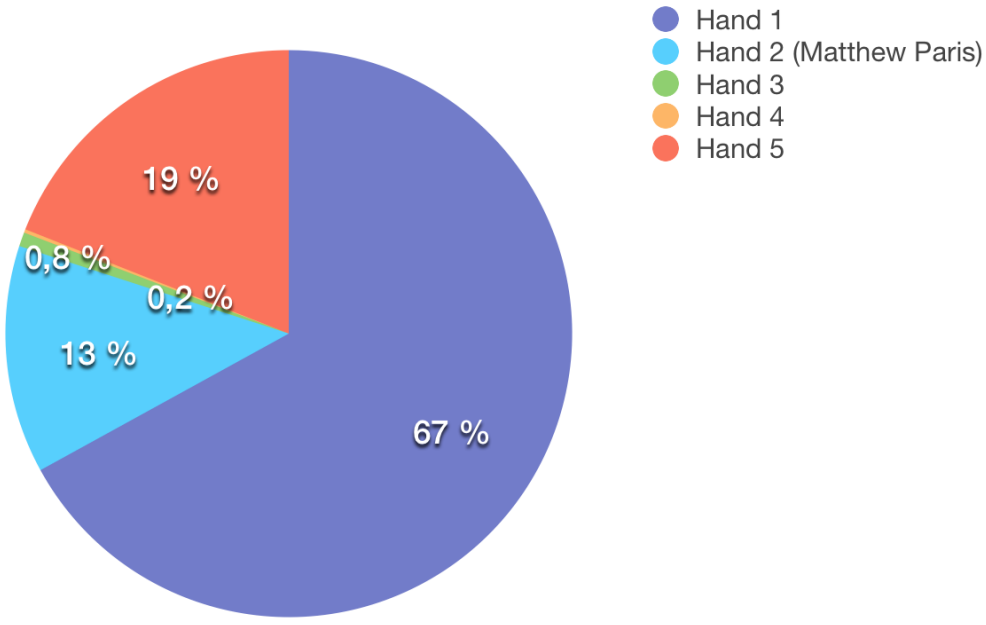

Figure 4.35. Global percentages of hand distribution in ChL MS 6712.

Vaughan distinguished in the section previous to Matthew Paris's (7r-170v) two scribes who were working c.1250.[85] However, and although there are changes of aspect in this section, they occur within the natural and expected changes in a large section of text, as discussed below. On the other hand, Vaughan also states Paris's section of the manuscript, as an author, ends with the entry for 1249.[86] Given that he died ten years later in 1259, the annals until then have been included in the description of scribal hands, in order both to include all materials written up until

[84] The section 1r-6v includes a title page, additional matter and a calendar, from a later period.
[85] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 92.
[86] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 92.

Paris's death, and also to include all materials written up until the date given by Vaughan for the completion of the manuscript (c.1257).[87]

Hand 1 (7r-170va)

Although not fully textualis according to Lieftinck and Derolez, Hand 1 displays a homogeneous regularity throughout.[88] It is a bold, rounded and laterally compressed hand with ascenders with uneven tops and some morphological variety in letters like **d**, **e**, **g**, double-curved **s** and the abbreviation for *con-*. If we take Gumbert's Cartesian classification of the Gothic scripts, this hand would be a *hybrida*, as it displays elements of both *textualis* and *cursiva*.[89] From a codicological perspective, this is a hand that writes below the top line. This is a hand that writes at an average angle with the baseline of 48°, ranging between 40° and 62°.

Both double-compartment and round **a** are found throughout Hand 1's section, although the former is the most usual type. Double-compartment **a** has a bold head-stroke, and the back has a tendency to slant forward slightly; it also has a round lobe and foot, with some more compressed versions appearing in places. Overall, caroline **a** is quite regular, rounded and bold. On the other hand, instances of round **a** display bold straight backs with feet and round lobes, and they are scarce.

The overall roundness of letterforms in Hand 1 can also be seen in letter **b**. The ascending stroke goes round to close the letter at minim-height. The bowl closes in three different ways: angled thin stroke, round continuation of the ascender stroke, and leaving the bowl open. The tops of ascenders also show some variety: the most typical is an engrossed wavy top. However, ascenders can be flat-topped and split-topped. When showing a split, it is not particularly large, and the stroke on the left of the split curls down slightly. In most cases, ascenders are thicker at the top, and, when flat-topped, show a characteristic triangular shape.

Another characteristic letterform is **d**, which is found mostly in uncial form. A narrow vertical **d** is also found. Uncial **d** has an average angle of 47° in its ascenders (in relation to the baseline, and ranging between 30° and 53°, which can be straight or slightly curled). The bowl is generally

[87] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 102.
[88] In general terms, *Textualis* is defined by Lieftinck and Derolez as displaying double-compartment **a**, the ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k**, and **l** without looks, and **f** and vertical **s** standing on the baseline (Gumbert, 'A Proposal', 45-6; Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 73) For a collection of characteristic letterforms: https://goo.gl/N8IzuY
[89] Gumbert, 'A Proposal', 45-6; Derolez, *The Palaeography*, 20-1, 163-4.

closed, and the overall stroke is bold. In vertical **d** the two strokes can be clearly distinguished, as the stroke creating the bowl is usually seen over the shaft, making the letter look like a **c** imposed on an **l**. Ascenders are usually flat or wavy, very much like in **b**. In terms of fusions, uncial **d** fuses with **o** and **e** in most cases, although there are many instances of separation.[90]

A characteristic feature of letter **e** is its pointed, triangular top, together with a long-angled tongue in final position. There is also a rounder version, but it is uncommon. The top stroke is usually thick and angled. Letter **g**, on the other hand, tends to display an angled bowl with a straight, thin tail. Body and bowl are usually similar in proportion, with the body showing a rounder or oval shape due to lateral compression. Angled bowls are found together with a more 8-like shape. Another letterform that displays characteristic features is the double-curved **s**, with a round upper curve and an angled lower curve that resembles the upper stroke of a *punctus elevatus*. The upper curve can also appear closed giving the letter a 9-like shape. On the other hand, vertical **s** shows a serif to the left of the down-stroke. However, while Matthew Paris's vertical **s** displays the same feature, the line of the down-stroke is usually broken, which is not the case with Hand 1. It is footed, and the head tends to be quite thick and nearly horizontal.

Two of the most characteristic features of Hand 1 are the forms of tironian *et* and *est*. *Et* is found in two different ways depending on the treatment of the top stroke. The most usual type is a regular, crossed 7-shaped sign with a wavy top stroke and an average down-stroke angle of 65° in relation to the baseline. However, there is also a larger type in which the top stroke is much longer and curled downwards. This makes the sign flat-topped, with the curled attack of the stroke reaching the cross-stroke, creating a closed top compartment. In both instances, a curved foot is always visible. *Est* is clearly divided into three strokes: the top and middle strokes are horizontal lines of equal or near-equal length, whilst the lower stroke is a long comma.

Abbreviation also displays differentiating elements, particularly the signs for -b*us* and *con*-. The second stroke of -b*us* is a 3-like sign that generally extends below the **b**. In a more angular version, the stroke is narrower and can even display a small foot to the left. *Con*-, on the other hand, displays a round inverted c-shape, with instances of a more cursive version in which the down-stroke turns right resembling a disjointed round **a**. The general sign of abbreviation is quite regular throughout: a short, horizontal straight line that in a few instances terminates in a short down-stroke, slanting inwards.

[90] Parkes, 'Handwriting', 119-20.

Lastly, the analysis of punctuation reveals several characteristics unique to Hand 1 that are essential identifying features. Firstly, the *punctus* is placed at about a quarter of minim height, quite regularly throughout. It is generally thick and round. The upper stroke of the *punctus elevatus* has two different shapes: one is a large tick, and the other a curved stroke that resembles an inverted, narrow and elongated **c**. On average, this upper stroke is placed at an angle of 50°. Lastly, and although scarce, the *punctus interrogativus* is found in a typical *punctus* and inverted **s**-shape. This upper stroke is also quite narrow and at an average angle of 50°.

To sum up, despite its overall regularity, Hand 1 displays variance within letterforms. In particular **d** and tironian *et* have two main subtypes that appear in almost equal proportions, whilst there is a general sense that individual letterforms show a spectrum of variety - particularly in their angularity -, with 'round' and 'angular' versions of morphologically identical types.

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Figure 4.36. ChL MS 6712 (Hand 1), 7rb30-43 and 141rb1-13.

Hand 2 – Matthew Paris (170vb – 200va)[91]

Hand 3 (200vb – 201rb23)[92]

This hand, which takes over from Matthew Paris and writes a total of ninety-nine lines, has an irregular and uneven outlook. It is a lighter hand than Hand 1, but without the latter's regular module. In both 200v and 201r the text starts above top line, and particularly in 201r the hand experiments with changes, from a relatively more formal start to a more cursive middle section. If we take just the basic morphological traits of this hand, it would fit into a Cartesian *textualis*, given that it does not use round **a**, has closed 8-like **g**'s and **f** and **s** do not fall below the baseline and have feet. It would be, however, a *textualis currens*. Its average writing angle in relation to the baseline is 43°, ranging between 40° and 48°.

Apart from not using round **a**, Hand 3 employs a closed double-compartment **a** that occasionally rises above minim height. The lobe tends to be square, while the head creates a space that is usually flat-topped, but can also be pointed. This letterform is not, however, angular but rounded. Occasionally the upper line of the bowl protrudes through the back slightly. **b**, on the other hand, is found either open or closed in equal proportions, and shows a variety in the way ascenders are topped. They can either display a large split, such as in Matthew Paris's script, or take a form which is flat-topped, or topped with a wavy line. The bowl is round in most cases and shows a lesser degree of lateral compression than does the equivalent letter-form in Hand 1.

There are no instances of vertical **d** in this hand. Uncial **d** is written in two different ways: one type is written without pen-lift; the second type has the ascender written in a different stroke. The average angle of the ascenders is 41°, within a range between 30° and 60°. The tops of the ascenders are usually slightly curved upwards, although in few occasions these tops are curled more obviously. There is just one example of a fully looping **d**, early in Hand 3's portion of text (200vb1, *eodem*). Another interesting letterform in Hand 3 is **e**, whose tongue is placed at differing angles (from approximately 45° to 70°), leaving the lower curve smaller in comparison. A long tongue is observed when not followed by another letter, while the top of the letter tends to be curved rather than pointed.

[91] For a collection of characteristic letterforms: https://goo.gl/J3BQpS
[92] For a collection of characteristic letterforms: https://goo.gl/dkDvxo

g and vertical **s** are also remarkable in Hand 3. **g** has in most cases a body larger than the bowl, and also tends not to be fully vertical, resembling a tilted number 8. The bowl can be round or angular, although round forms predominate. Vertical **s** displays the same serif in its shaft as observed in other hands. However, it is placed near the head rather that in the middle of the shaft, giving it a disproportionate look.

In terms of abbreviation, tironian *et* has a characteristic tilted cross-stroke (at an average angle of 30° in relation to the baseline). It is flat-topped, with the top stroke starting slightly below its final position, giving it a small curved start. Tironian *est* is made up of an upper dot, mid stroke and lower short comma. The sign for *con-* resembles a long number 9, with the long stroke ending at approximately double the lobe. Lastly, the second stroke of -b*us* ranges from a rather narrow number 3 to a much more z-like stroke. In all cases, it is an angular stroke. Punctuation in Hand 3 is quite regular and standard, with the *punctus elevatus* made up of point and upper curve (at an average angle of 48° in relation to the baseline). The general sign of abbreviation is brief and slightly curved, with the right end usually curving downwards.

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Figure 4.37. ChL MS 6712 (Hand 3), 200vb22-35 and 201ra1-15.

Hand 4 (201rb24 -38)[93]

This hand appears only for fourteen lines at the end of 201r. Written at an average angle of 48° (in a range from 37° to 58°), this script is small and angular and squarer than Hand 3, its immediate predecessor on the page, although it shares with it few morphological features. It fits the main characteristics of a *textualis* script, and it is indeed more formal than Hand 2 and Hand 3. However, lines look uneven and module is not kept equal among letters, even in a single word. The most characteristic letterforms in this hand are **a**, **e**, **g**, vertical **s**, *et* and -b*us*. In general, this hand displays long upward feet, particularly in **p** and **l**.

Double-compartment **a** (round **a** is not observed in this hand) is found closed. The head is closed right above the lobe, making the letter fit a rectangle. The head is not flat-topped, but it is usually angled down or curved. The lobe stroke does not, like in Hand 3, protrude at the back. Continuing with characteristics already described in other hands, **e** shows a bigger lobe as the upper stroke closes at the middle of the lower curve. Again we find the long tongue when in isolation.

[93] For a collection of characteristic letterforms: https://goo.gl/rBL2Yo

As seen in Hand 3, **g**'s body is larger than the bowl. Its oval shape dwarfs the generally angled bowl. A more compact type of **g** is found, in which the bowl is even smaller and is more attached to the body, making it a rather compact 8-like letter. Vertical **s** tends to display a thickening of the top of the shaft or even a small line diagonal to the shaft. Tironian *et* has a tilted crossing stroke at an average of 35° in relation to the baseline. It is, as with Hand 3, flat-topped although the line is tilted to the left and starts in a small curve. Lastly, -b*us*'s second stroke has an exaggeratedly long middle stroke. It is also rounder and lacks angularity.

Other letterforms of interest are **d**, uncial, with diagonal ascenders at an average angle of 38°, in a range from 31° to 45°, with a small curl at the end; and the sign for *con-*, which has a long descender making it 9-like.

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Figure 4.38. ChL MS 6712 (Hand 4), 201rb24-38.

Hand 5 (201v – 247r)[94]

This hand takes over Hand 4 and continues beyond Paris's death in 1259.[95] It is a bold, heavy hand that is generally regular but has instances of more laterally-compressed sections, with a writing angle at 45° in average, ranging from 35° to 59°. It is a *textualis* hand that, although it does not reach the highest status of formality, is the most formal of all hands in Paris's section of this manuscript. Text written by this hand is placed below the top line. Characteristic features of this hand can be observed in letterforms like caroline **a**, the top of ascenders in **b**, **d**, **e**, **g**, double-curved **s**, vertical **s**, tironian *et* and *est*, *punctus elevatus*, the general sign of abbreviation and the abbreviation sign of -b*us*. Additionally, this hand displays a high degree of fusions and breaking in the minims.

As with other hands, caroline **a** is closed, with the head forming a diagonal line. The bowl is usually trapezoidal, with the back and foot slightly below. There are also instances of more pointed heads that make the letter have a triangular shape at the top. Letter **b** is usually open, with a flat, split or diagonal top, very much like in Hand 1. Its shape is round, and the stroke ends quite high in relation to the height of the ascender, making into more of a round **v**. D, on the other hand, shows uncial and vertical types. Uncial **d**, with ascenders averaging 41° in relation to the baseline, has a round or oval bowl and short ascenders. When in fusion with **e** or **o**, it tends to have a shorter angle (30°). Vertical **d** displays a square bowl and a flat or wavy top of the ascender.

The most comparatively remarkable feature of letter **e** is its upper stroke, which is angled, thus giving the letter a triangular shape at the top. The tongue is placed at an average of 45°, therefore giving the letter a more proportioned appearance, and tends to be long when the letter is in isolation. In these cases, it is occasionally observed that the tongue protrudes through the lower curve. Letter **g** has an 8-like appearance in almost all instances, with only a few cases of an angled bowl. These cases also show a long tail that goes beyond the bowl.

Both double-curved and vertical **s** show features of interest. Double-curved **s** is angular, with the two curves marked equally – unlike other hands where the lower curve is left more open. The upper stroke can be long when at the end of a word, in which case the letter has a 5-like shape. In

[94] For a collection of characteristic letterforms: https://goo.gl/7Dqb5l
[95] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 7-11.

its most usual form, the curves form two trapezoidal spaces, with the lower curve closing in in most cases. Vertical **s** has a hump on the shaft to the left towards the middle without altering the straightness of the stroke. The foot of vertical **s** is quite pronounced, which can make it look like a **c** with a particularly thick upper section. Tironian *notae* for *et* and *est* also have their own idiosyncrasies. Et, always uncrossed, can display an elongated top stroke that curves, or a more conventional short flat one. It is always footed. Est, on the other hand, is made up of two commas and a horizontal stroke. The upper comma goes upwards while the lower comma goes downwards, thus mirroring each other. The horizontal middle stroke curls up often.

The *punctus elevatus*, together with the usual combination of tick and dot, also uses a short comma as the upper stroke, resembling a colon or an inverted semicolon. On the other hand, the general sign of abbreviation is rather short and straight, not covering the whole space above the letter it is abbreviating. And lastly, the sign for -b*us* is standard, but the second stroke tends to resemble a well-proportioned number 3. It does occasionally extend below the **b** or downwards below the baseline.

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Figure 4.39. ChL MS 6712 (Hand 5), 201va1-15 and 247rb6-25.

Trinity College Dublin MS 177

This manuscript contains Matthew Paris's Anglo-Norman Life of St Alban (*Vie de Seint Auban*), well-known for its illumination, together with other Latin texts like Ralph of Dunstable's *Vita metrica sancti Albani*, William of St Albans' *Passio Sancti Albani*, a collection of foundational charters of St Albans, the story of the invention of St Alban and St Amphibalus, and a collection of the miracles of St Amphibalus and of the translation of St Alban.[96] Its small format (240 x 170 mm) contrasts with a large number of illuminations, particularly on the life of St Alban. There are several different arrangements of *mise-en-page* present in this manuscript: in Ralph of Dunstable's

[96] M. L. Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts* (Aldershot, 1991), 339-343; Wogan-Browne and Fenster, *The Life of St Alban*, 16-17.

Vita metrica Sancti Albani (3r-20r) the text is arranged in two columns (with an average of 33 lines per column), displaying the usual configuration with the first letter of every line separated into the left margin, and with illustrations either half of one of the columns or the whole of the upper section of the leaf (although not all leaves are illuminated); in William of St Alban's *Passio Sancti Albani* (20r-28v), the mise-en-page is similar but, as expected, without the letters in the left margin, with an average of 33 lines per column; in Paris's *Vie de Seint Auban* (29r-50r) the mise-en-page goes back to separating the initials to the left margin, with illuminations filling either half of one of the columns or the whole of the upper section of the leaf (some of the glued-in illustrations are missing). From the *Vie de Seint Auban* onwards the first letter of every line is not separated to the left margin (which applies to the lessons and liturgical responses – 50v-52v -, the invention of St Alban, the foundational charters of St Albans and the invention of St Amphibalus – 52v-69v -, the miracles of St Amphibalus, the translation of St Alban and the miracles of Amphibalus, 69v-77r). In terms of mise-en-page, the foundation charters of St Albans (63r-66r) are slightly different as they only display one illustration at the beginning, and initials are far more decorated than in the rest of the manuscript.

This manuscript, because of its illuminations, has been the object of several scholarly publications, starting with an edition by Atkinson and a partial facsimile, and followed by Vaughan's article and monograph.[97] In more recent years, a full description was produced for the catalogue of manuscripts of Trinity College Library, together with works by Suzanne Lewis and Florence McCulloch.[98] Most recently, an full edition of the *Vie de Seint Auban* has been published by Wogan-Browne and Fenster, including a new assessment of the hands in the manuscript.[99] My own observation and analysis of the collaborating hands in this manuscript agrees with that of Wogan-Browne and Fenster. The distribution of hands is as follows:

2r-50r: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)
50v-62v: Hand 2
63r-64va3: Hand 3
64va3 – 66r: Hand 4
66v-72r: Hand 2
72v: *Blank*

[97] Atkinson, *Vie de Seint Auban*; Lowe and Jacob, *Illustrations to the life of St Alban*; Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 384-90; *Matthew Paris*. 168-72.
[98] Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin,* 339-43; Lewis, *The Art*, 9-10, 380-3; McCulloch, 'Saints Albans and Amphibalus'.
[99] Wogan-Browne and Fenstern, *The Life of St Alban,* 191-4.

73r-77r: Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)

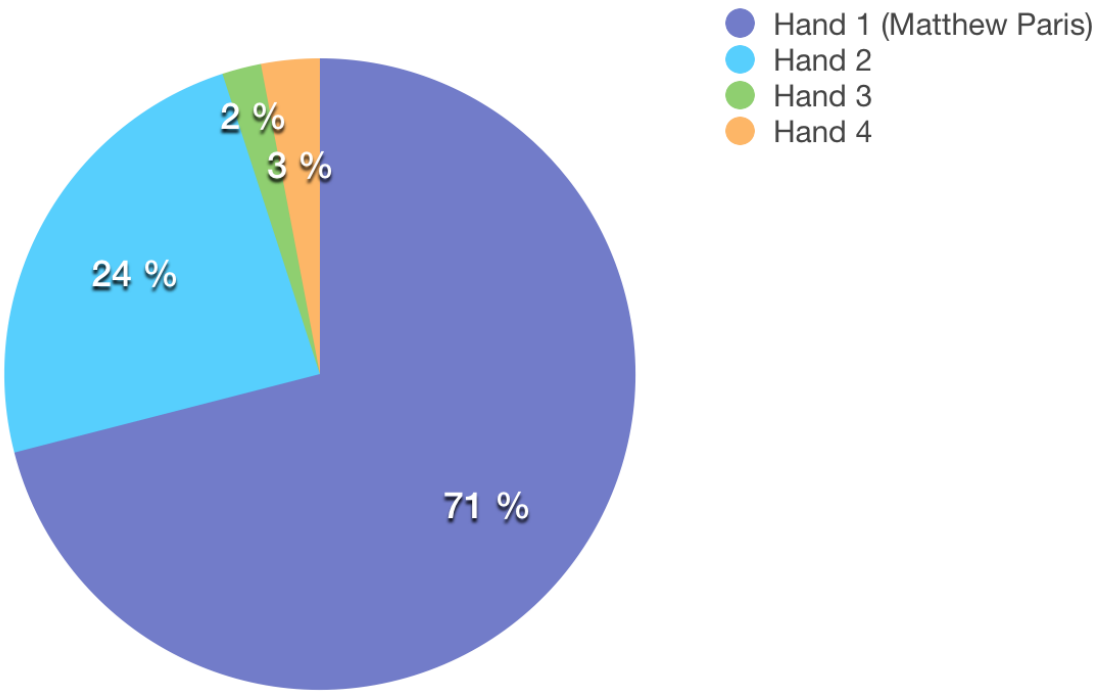

Figure 4.40. Global percentages of hand distribution in TCD MS 177.

Hand 1 – Matthew Paris (2r-50r; 73r-77r)

Hand 2 (50v-62v; 66v-72r)

Hand 2 participates in the writing of seventeen leaves that contain, firstly, a group of lessons and liturgical responses (50v-52v), the tale of the invention of St Alban (52v-62v/66v-68v, divided now in two parts by the addition of copies of the foundational charters of St Albans), the story of the invention and miracles of St Amphibalus (68v-70v), and the narration of the translation of St Alban (70v-72r). The average angle of writing is 49°.

This hand is generally rounded, and it has been defined as Gothic *textualis*.[100] The characters that define it are: caroline **a**, **e** and **h**, and the absence of round **a**. Caroline **a**, compared to other hands – particularly Paris's – displays a closed upper compartment. In many cases this forms two almost-equal bowls. Apart from the upper compartment, caroline **a** displays feet, although not markedly, and the lobe is consistently squared. The head can show a round or angular shape, with

[100] Wogan-Browne and Fenster, *The Life of St Alban,* 191.

some remarkable examples showing a small gap at the top of the letter. Letter **e**, on the other hand, shows a long tongue, while the lower curve is rounded in most cases. Lastly, **h** displays a remarkably long, curved downstroke, while the shaft has a wavy top, common of all ascenders in this hand. As it is also footed, the overall appearance of **h** creates a square between the shaft, foot and downstroke.

Apart from the above-mentioned essential identification features, it must be noted the usual way of topping ascenders is by using a wavy line that protrudes slightly on the left. Letter **d** is only found in uncial form (with an average angle of the ascender of 41°), while **g** displays a trapezoidal lower body marked by a diagonal line that usually protrudes outside the body itself. In a similar way to caroline **a**, double-curved **s** is also closed, with an angular lower curve. Vertical **s**, on the other hand, displays a common serif to the left of the shaft. From the remaining described characters, tironian *et*, -b*us* and the general sign of abbreviation are also relevant for the overall identification of the script. Tironian *et* is found crossed by a straight horizontal line, with a usually long and wavy upper stroke and with a marked foot. The suspension for -b*us* shows a long downstroke that usually goes below the baseline, made up of two curves. The downstroke is placed at an angle, creating a slightly diagonal line. Lastly, the general sign of abbreviation is a short and straight line without thickening.

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Figure 4.41. TCD MS 177 (Hand 2), 51ra1-14 and 70rb18-29.

Hand 3 (63r-64va3)

This hand is generally rounder than Hand 2, although it is written at a similar angle in relation to the baseline (50°), and is responsible for the writing of a small section of text (one leaf and a half), which is part of a collection of copies the foundational charters of St Albans, which are inserted in the middle of the narration of the invention of St Albans, written by Hand 2. Wogan-Browne and Fenster identify this hand as the oldest-looking of the three (excluding that of Matthew Paris), based on the relatively frequent use of ampersand, open-topped **a** and straight terminal **s**.[101]

The main features that help to identify this hand are the forms of caroline **a**, **d**, double-curved **s**, tironian *et*, the general sign of abbreviation and the suspension for -b*us*, as they all display some unique characteristics. Firstly, caroline **a** usually displays a small, open head, with a round bowl and a straight back. Differently from other hands, caroline **a** in hand 3 is not tall, nor it is written

[101] Wogan-Browne and Fenstern, *The Life of St Alban,* 192.

with a closed head. Letter **d** displays both uncial and vertical forms in similar proportion. Uncial **d** usually has a diagonal, straight and long ascender at an average angle with the baseline of 35°, whereas vertical **d** is footed, with a straight back and with a flat-topped ascender. In both cases the bowl tends to be round. Double-curved **s** is remarkable in this hand because of its upper stroke, which is elongated in approximately half of the cases, ending in an upward curl. Both upper and lower stroke are quite angular. Tironian *et* is crossed by a small, straight horizontal line, which is rather similar to other hands. However, its top stroke is long, starting in an upward curve, which makes the sign more easily identifiable as Hand 3's. Similarly, the general sign of abbreviation is also a small, straight horizontal line, yet it can display an upwards and/or downwards stroke at the ends of the horizontal line. Lastly, the downstroke of -b*us* displays a pronounced upwards curve, making the contraction usually sit on the baseline.

Apart from the essential elements of identification, it must be noted that, in general, this hand displays straight ascenders, which are flat-topped. Bowls, in letters like caroline **a**, **b**, **d** and **g**, are generally rounded. Letter **g**, however, displays a trapezoidal body due to an oblique closing line, similar to Hand 2. Vertical **s** displays the familiar protrusion to the left, and marks of punctuation (*punctus* and *punctus elevatus*) are placed just above the baseline. It is also relevant to mention the absence of round **a**, and of tironian *con-* or *est*.

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Figure 4.42. TCD MS 177 (Hand 3), 63rb1-15 and 64rb17-27.

Hand 4 (64va3 - 66r)

This hand, similarly to Hand 3, only writes for two leaves, and is responsible for the last part of the copying of the foundational charters of St Albans, inserted between the two halves of the story of the invention of St Albans. It displays an average writing angle in relation to the baseline of 48°.

There are several characters that help in the identification of this particular hand. They are caroline **a**, **b**, **d**, **g**, double-curved **s**, vertical **s**, and the general sign of abbreviation. Most instances of caroline **a** show a closed head. However, and in contrast with Hand 2, the head is smaller in size than the bowl. The bowl is mostly square, but there are still instances of rounder shapes. Letter **b**, on the other hand, displays a round bowl which is often left open. The ascender is topped by a horizontal line that extends to the left (and also to the right in some instances). Letter **d**, on the other hand, presents both uncial and vertical forms. Uncial **d** displays a short ascender at a high angle at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 46°, and mostly round bowls; vertical **d** is flat-topped, as mentioned above for **b**, also with round bowls. In contrast with Hand 3, **g** is 8-like and round. There are both open bodies and diagonal lines that do not affect the overall roundness of the letter. Both double-curved and vertical **s** show some special characteristics. Double-curved **s**, as in Hand 3, shows an elongated upper stroke. However, Hand 4 does not curl the end of the stroke, leaving it straight or slightly curved upwards. On the other hand, vertical **s** has two idiosyncrasies: it displays unusually marked feet; and it shows the typical serif to the left protruding through the right more frequently than in other hands. Lastly, the general abbreviation stroke displays two main subtypes: straight and curved. The straight sign of abbreviation can terminate with an upward and/or downward stroke at the left and right extremity – as in Hand 3 -, and it is generally short and not engrossed. The curved sign of abbreviation is formed of a horizontal straight line that ends in an upwards curve on the right. Both types appear interchangeably through Hand 4's short stint.

Apart from the above-mentioned characters, there are other interesting characteristics that can be found in the digital annotations for this hand. The suspension for -b*us*, for instance, goes invariably below the baseline in a diagonal line, without any curving upwards. Letter **e**, on the other hand, is quite angular and occasionally displays a long tongue. The downward stroke of **h** usually goes well below the baseline in a diagonal straight line, while tironian *et* uses a straight top stroke. Lastly, tironian *est* displays a short comma that goes just below the baseline. Punctuation

shows features similar to Hand 3, like the closeness of the *punctus* and *punctus elevatus* to the baseline and the tick-like appearance of the upper stroke of the *punctus elevatus*.

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Figure 4.43. TCD MS 177 (Hand 4), 65ra1-14 and 66ra1-17.

b. The scribes: A, B and C

The analysis and description of the hands identified in the manuscripts of the corpus allows for the comparison between hands in order to find possible matches. Those hands that match across more than one manuscript have been categorised as scribes. By comparing the digital annotations on MParisPal with direct observation, three scribes have been identified. Apart from the comparison of annotations and of aspect, an overlay of a minimum of five instances of several characters has been carried out using the lightbox function of MParisPal. These overlays confirm the initial identification and show the extent of the similarity between hands.

There are some other possible matches between hands in different manuscripts that have not been fully confirmed. This lack of certainty in the identification leaves these two possible scribes out of the final number of identified scribes, yet they are described to show both the possibility of a future certain identification and the difficulty of reaching a conclusion. Thus, there are three identified scribes: A, B and C; and two unconfirmed scribes. Scribe A is the most remarkable as his hand appears in four different manuscripts (BL Cotton MS Nero D I, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, BL Royal MS 14 C VII and CCCC MS 16 II). Scribes B and C appear in two manuscripts each: Scribe B in CCCC MS 26 and CCCC MS 16 II, and Scribe C in TCD MS 177 and ChL MS 6712. Each description and overlay below is accompanied by a chart that shows the specifics of the contribution of each hand, together with textual dates (the dates of the text being copied) and approximate copying dates, if known.

The description of the confirmed and unconfirmed scribes in the corpus is followed by a chart which displays the conclusions of this chapter (Figures 4.57 and 4.58). It shows the proportional contribution of each hand to each manuscript (including that of Matthew Paris), highlighting the three identified and two unconfirmed scribes. Thus, it is possible to see the proportional extent of each contribution and their approximate position within the manuscript. The percentages of each contribution have been calculated by counting each scribes' number of written leaves and calculating their percentage value in relation to the whole manuscript.

Scribe A

Scribe A corresponds to hands found across four manuscripts (BL Cotton MS Nero D I, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, BL Royal MS 14 C VII and CCCC MS 16 II).

BL Cotton MS Nero D I	Hand 3
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	Hand 2
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	Hand 2
CCCC MS 16 II	Hand 5

Figure 4.44. Hands that correspond to Scribe A in the corpus.

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Figure 4.45. Overlay of caroline **a**, **b**, uncial **d**, **g**, **h**, double-curved and vertical **s**, tironian *et* and *con*-, and -b*us* in the hand of Scribe A across the corpus.

As mentioned in the individual description of each of the four hands that correspond to Scribe A, this is a hand with generally round shapes and thickened ascenders, together with particular features like tall caroline **a** that rise when in conjunction with **t**. Consistently with the uneven appearance of the hand is the variability of the allographs: caroline **a**, uncial **d** and **g** present different versions, the most common of which are represented above. **h**, vertical **s** and tironian *et*

present some variability in their upper sections (the topstroke of *et*, the head of vertical **s**, the shaft of **h**) However, there are two elements that are not entirely consistent across manuscripts: the end of the downstroke of -b*us*, which varies from turning to the left to turning to the right, with some instances of a straighter end; and the downstroke of tironian *con-*, which is found in angular and round versions. The average angle of writing in relation to the baseline ranges from 42° to 46° across the four manuscripts, with an overall range from 32° to 58°. The average angle of the ascender of uncial **d** in relation to the baseline presents less homogeneity, as it ranges from 32° to 41°.

In textual terms, Scribe A writes several pieces of text that correspond to the *Liber Additamentorum*, the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* and parts II and III of the *Chronica Majora*. All of these texts are dated, as they are either dated documents (as in the *Liber*) or sections of two different chronicle compilations. Following these dates, Scribe A writes texts dating 1241-1260, as shown below. It is far more complex, however, to advance an estimate date of writing. In this respect Vaughan provided estimates for the composition of most of Paris's manuscripts, which can serve as a general indication. Thus, c.1247-c.1260 gives a period of approximately thirteen years of collaboration of Scribe A with Matthew Paris, as detailed below. The earliest date, 1247, was given by Vaughan as the first time the *Liber Additamentorum* is mentioned in the *Chronica Majora* (while still being physically attached to it), whilst the latest – 1260 – is the date of one of the documents copied by Scribe A in the Liber (137v-140v).[102]

As mentioned in the manuscript analysis, Vaughan's evidence about the number of collaborating scribes and the extent of their collaboration is uneven. BL Cotton Nero D I was, in his opinion, mostly written by Paris, with three collaborating hands not to be found anywhere else and one hand that also writes on CCCC MS 16 II.[103] However, he did not state the extent of the contribution of each scribe, as the description of the manuscript only details those sections not written by Paris, without being more specific about the other four hands. The leaves 83r-84r, 106r/v and 137v-139v are all within these 'non-Paris' leaves, so it could be understood Vaughan was referring to what here has been referred to as Hand 3 (BL Cotton MS Nero D I) and Hand 5 (CCCC MS 16 II), although this is highly speculative.[104] Similarly, when describing BL Royal MS 14 C VII, Vaughan identifies one single collaborating hand, which is also present in BL Cotton

[102] For a fuller discussion of BL Cotton Nero D I and the *Liber Additamentorum*, see chapters 1.b Life, works and manuscripts of Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259); and 4.a Description of scribal hands.
[103] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 384, 390.
[104] On BL Cotton MS Nero D I, Vaughan identifies these sections as not written by Paris: 83r-86r; 106r/v, c. 1; most of 119r; 122v-123r; 125v-126r; 134r-139v; 148r-154v; and 156r-160v (Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 390).

Nero D I; again when detailing the parts not written by Paris, there is no indication to the collaborating scribe, so it is uncertain if Vaughan identified Hand 2 in BL Royal MS 14 C VII as the same hand as Hand 3 in BL Cotton MS Nero D I.[105] Lastly, Vaughan identified a single collaborating scribe on BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, which he links to BL Cotton MS Nero D I.[106] Overall, it might be possible Vaughan identified this scribe, as there are links in his identification between the four manuscripts, yet he did not make this explicit as he did not make clear what 'non-Paris' stints were written by the collaborating hands he identified.

Work (Manuscript)	**Stint(s)**	**Textual date**	**Approximate copying date**
Liber Additamentorum (BL Cotton MS Nero D I)	69va; 83r-84v; 106r-106va29; 120va8-25 (possibly); 137v-140vb24.	1252-1260	c. 1247-1260[107]
Abbreviatio Chronicorum (BL Claudius D VI)	91v-98v.	1253	After c. 1255[108]
Chronica Majora (CCCC MS 16 II & BL Royal MS 14 C VII)	*CCCC MS 16 II:* Over erasures from 144r to 236r.[109] *BL Royal MS 14 C VII:* 154vb23 - 156v.	1241-1250 & 1253	c. 1240-1251[110] (Whole manuscript; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 51)

Figure 4.46. Relationship between works, textual dates and copying date estimates for Scribe A.

[105] On BL Royal MS 14 C VII, Vaughan identifies these sections as not written by Paris: 154v-156v; and 210r-218v (Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 390).
[106] On BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, Vaughan identifies these sections as not written by Paris: 2r-6r; and 87v-98v (Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 390).
[107] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65-6.
[108] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 114.
[109] The full description of Hand 5's contribution to CCCC MS 16 II can be found in chapter 4.a Description of scribal hands.
[110] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 51.

Scribe B

Scribe B corresponds to two hands in the manuscripts containing the first and second parts of the *Chronica Majora* (CCCC MS 26 and CCCC MS 16 II).

CCCC MS 26	Hand 2
CCCC MS 16 II	Hand 1

Figure 4.47. Hands that correspond to Scribe B in the corpus.

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Figure 4.48. Overlay of caroline **a**, **b**, uncial and vertical **d,** **e**, **g**, **h**, double-curved and vertical **s**, tironian *et*, *con- and est*, -b*us*, and the general sign of abbreviation in the hand of Scribe B across the corpus.

The script of Scribe B is generally uneven, with changes to module throughout all stints. The changing lateral compression and of some characteristics in several letterforms – as described above – makes it particularly difficult to identify across manuscripts. This script is characterised by variances in some of its allographs, particularly **g**, vertical **s**, tironian *et*, and -b*us*. The overlay

shows that the greatest difference between the two hands are descenders, which can vary slightly in **h**, -b*us* and tironian *con-*. Particularly remarkable is the variety in **g**, which can be angled, round and hooked, and angled and hooked, sometimes within the same stint. It is, overall, an uneven hand reminiscent of the variability of Matthew Paris's hand, using ampersand and tironian *et* in almost equal proportions. This variability is less evident in angles: the average angle of writing in relation to the baseline is 44° for CCCC MS 26 and 48° for CCCC MS 16 II; and the average angle of the ascender of uncial d is 54° for CCC MS and 52° for CCCC MS 16 II.

Scribe B writes in two manuscripts (named A and B, as described above) that were originally one manuscript, AB. In A, CCCC MS 26 – *Chronica Majora* I – this scribe is responsible for copying most of the manuscript, beginning (the Creation) to end (1188). The scribed continued writing in what is now B, CCCC MS 16 II, contributing much less (some 33 leaves in total), and ending their participation in the entries for 1237. Textual dating by Vaughan place the creation of both manuscripts between c.1240 and 1251, so it is safe to assume that Scribe B actively participated in the copying of the manuscripts throughout the whole period.[111]

CCCC MS 26 and CCCC MS 16 II are given three scribes other than Paris each in Vaughan's identification.[112] One of the scribes from CCCC MS 16 II, following this identification, also appears in BL Cotton MS Nero D I, as mentioned above, yet apart from those there are no further matches across the two manuscripts or between the manuscripts and the rest of the corpus.[113] Both occurrences of Scribe B (Hand 2 in CCCC MS 26 and Hand 1 in CCCC MS 16 II) coincide with Vaughan's identification of what was not written by Paris.[114]

[111] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 51.
[112] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 384.
[113] *Ibid.*
[114] For CCCC MS 26, Vaughan only identifies what was written by Paris, which is 'the six leaves of preliminary matter, and three leaves of rough matter at the end of the MS. He also writes additions throughout the MS, some on added leaves, but most in the margins; textual and marginal rubrics; rubrication at the top of the pages after p. 174; and part of the text (not on an erasure) on p. 86'. For CCCC MS 16 II, he identifies the following as written by Matthew Paris, considering the preliminary matter was not bound separately at the time of writing: 11r-12v; 33v, c. 2-46r; 50v-54v; 61v, c. 2 to end (Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 390-1).

Work (Manuscript)	Stint(s)	Textual date	Approximate copying date
Chronica Majora I (CCCC MS 26)	1r-7v; 11r-18v; 20r-31v; 32ra32 – 43vb23; 43vb42 – 44ra8 & a11-39; 44rb32-59rb19; *96vb30 – 125v*, *possibly*; 131r-141v.	Up to 1188	c. 1240-1251[115]
Chronica Majora II (CCCC MS 16 II)	1r – 14v; 17r-36rb12; 37rb.	1189-1237	c. 1240-1251[116]

Figure 4.49. Relationship between works, textual dates and copying date estimates for Scribe B.

Scribe C

Scribe C corresponds to two hands found in manuscripts traditionally considered to be amongst Paris's earliest, those of the *Flores Historiarum* and the one containing *Vie de Seint Auban*.

TCD MS 177	Hand 2
ChL MS 6712	Hand 5

Figure 4.50. Hands that correspond to Scribe C in the corpus.

This scribe writes in two manuscripts that contain texts of a different nature. TCD MS 177 contains not only the well-known and illustrated Anglo-Norman verse life of St Alban, but other hagiographical texts and copies of foundational documents of St Albans, as detailed above. Scribe C does not write on the *Vie de Seint Auban*, but writes a group of lessons and liturgical responses (50v-52v), the tale of the invention of St Alban (52v-62v/66v-68v), the story of the invention and miracles of St Amphibalus (68v-70v), and the narration of the translation of St Alban (70v-72r). In the *Flores Historiarum*, Scribe C writes entries from 1250 to 1274, starting right after one of Paris's stints and ending beyond Paris's death. It is plausible then that this scribe collaborated with Paris in two separate moments: in c.1240 in TCD MS 177 and again after c.1250, continuing long after Paris's death.

[115] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 51.
[116] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 51.

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Figure 4.51. Overlay of caroline **a**, **b**, uncial and vertical **d, e**, **g**, **h**, double-curved and vertical **s**, tironian *et*, and -b*us* in the hand of Scribe C across the corpus.

The script of Scribe C is quite regular with thick ascenders and a markedly vertical axis. There is an occasional use of ampersand, and a general preference for closed caroline **a**. The script is generally stable, with little change to individual letterforms (the most evident is the opening or closing of round **g**, together with the downstroke of -b*us*). Scribe C writes in TCD MS 177 at an average angle in relation to the baseline of 49°, consistently similar to ChL MS 6712's 45°. There is even further coincidence in the angle of the ascender of uncial d, which in both cases is 41°.

Work (Manuscript)	**Stint(s)**	**Textual date**	**Approximate copying date**
Vie de Seint Auban, et al. (TCD MS 177)	50v-62v; 66v-72r	N/A	Before 1240[117]
Flores Historiarum (ChL MS 6712)	201v – 247r	1250-1274	c. 1240-1250[118]

Figure 4.52. Relationship between works, textual dates and copying date estimates for Scribe C.

The hands in TCD MS 177 have been identified by Vaughan and in the latest edition of the manuscript by Wogan-Browne and Fenster.[119] Vaughan distinguishes one collaborating hand, clearly identifying the areas of the manuscript written by Paris.[120] Wogan-Browne and Fenster provide a detailed description of the hands, identifying the same amount of hands in the same distribution as in this project.[121]

[117] Vaughan, Matthew Paris, 177.
[118] Vaughan, Matthew Paris, 102.
[119] Vaughan, 'The handwriting', 384, 390; Wogan-Browne and Fenster, *The Life of St Alban*, 191-4.
[120] 2r-50r and 73r-77r, 'as well as corrections, marginalia, captions to the pictures, etc. throughout the MS' (Vaughan, 'The Handwriting'. 390).
[121] Wogan-Browne and Fenster, *The Life of St Alban*, 191-4.

The other scribes: uncertain identifications

There are two possible matches between hands in the corpus that, as of now, are not confirmed with a sufficient degree of certainty. These hands display remarkable similarities in some aspects, but also enough differences to require special caution. Hand 1 in CCCC MS 16 II is already identified with a scribal hand, so an eventual positive identification in the cases below would enlarge the extent of the collaboration of Scribe B.

Hand 10 (BL Cotton Nero D I) and Hand 4 (CCCC MS 26)

These hands produce short stints in their respective manuscripts (Hand 10, 158r-161vb26; Hand 4, 126r/v; 129r-130v). They are sufficiently similar to be taken into consideration, yet they also present several essential differences. **g** is relatively similar in both, yet Hand 4 closes it and Hand 10 does not (except in very few cases). The possibility of having both crossed and uncrossed tironian *et* applies to both hands, as does the use of uncial and vertical **d**. The verticality of the hand and the way ascenders are flat-topped, together with the similarity of **g**, tironian *et*, vertical **s**, caroline **a** and the average angle of writing in relation to the baseline (41-48°) point to a possible match between the hands. However, as can be observed below, there is still a great variety within allographs to make the identification doubtful.

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Figure 4.53. Overlay of caroline **a**, **b**, uncial and vertical **d, e**, **g**, **h**, double-curved and vertical **s**, tironian *et*, and -b*us* in Hand 10 (BL Cotton Nero D I) and Hand 4 (CCCC MS 26).

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Figure 4.54. BL Cotton Nero D I, 158ra1-16 and CCCC MS 26, 129rb42-56.

Hand 1 (CCCC MS 16 II) and Hand 1 (CCCO MS 2)

These hands are both responsible for most of their respective manuscripts (Hand 1 in CCCC MS 16 II, 1r – 14v; 17r-36rb12; 37rb; and Hand 1 in CCCO MS 2, 3r - 369rb33). It is particularly in the last stints of Hand 1 in CCCC MS 16 II that we see more of a similarity between the hands, even though they might not look particularly similar at first glance.

The most similar characteristics between these two hands are caroline **a**, **g** and **h**. The head of caroline a – angled and short – is common in the two hands, as is the progressive angularity of the bowl. Letter **g** shows more of a slant to the left in CCCC MS 16 II, although they remain similar. Lastly, **h** shows an angled downstroke that is rounder in CCCC MS 16 II, although it can be found in CCCO MS 2 as well. If these two hands were to be confirmed as written by the same scribe (Scribe B), it would show two completely different levels of execution, which would fit with the text being copied (CCCO MS 2 is a Bible and CCCC MS 16 II the second volume of the *Chronica Majora*).

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Figure 4.55. Overlay of caroline **a**, **b**, uncial and vertical **d, e**, **g**, **h**, double-curved and vertical **s**, tironian *et*, and -b*us* in Hand 1 (CCCC MS 16 II) and Hand 1 (CCCO MS 2).

Images removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 4.56. CCCC MS 16 II, 37rb22-37 and CCCO MS 2, 139ra30.

c. The extent of scribal collaboration in the corpus

The first time scribal collaboration was acknowledged in Paris's manuscripts was by Vaughan himself – as the Rolls Series editors only mention additional scribes in passing – and Vaughan's assessment has not been contested or expanded until now. As discussed above, Vaughan's numeric estimation of scribal hands – fifteen - is accompanied by some specific mentions of hands in particular manuscripts, as part of each entry of the handlist of those manuscripts containing Paris's hand.[122] The relationship between the scribal collaborators and Matthew Paris is not generally explored by Vaughan, and the scribes are described just as collaborators, except for those Vaughan considered 'habitual helpers' or those who collaborated only in a single manuscript.[123] Apart from these distinction between usual and sporadic collaborators, Vaughan only gave the total number of collaborating scribes across all manuscripts containing Paris's hand, and the number of scribes present in some of the manuscripts. In his handlist of manuscripts containing Paris's hand, Vaughan also usually specifies the extent of Paris's participation in each manuscript.[124]

The data presented in the Appendix and the identification of Scribes A, B and C are the main results of this chapter, providing a definition of each hand and scribe, and specifying their stints within each manuscript. Besides the individual pie charts for every manuscript, there has not been much space for a visual representation of the extent of the collaboration of each hand and scribe in the corpus. There are two aspects that would benefit from a more visual approach: the overall involvement of each hand and scribe in the corpus and the relationship between the stints and the date of production of each manuscript.

The charts below (Figures 4.57 and 4.58) display several layers of information. Firstly, they show the extent of Paris's involvement in the copying of the manuscripts; secondly, they also show the extent of the collaboration of scribes A, B and C; thirdly, they show blank leaves and stints written by later hands; and lastly, they display the stints of each of the described hands. This information is displayed in relation to the position of the stints, blank leaves or later additions in each manuscript. To achieve this, the approximate number of leaves (rounded up where

[122] See chapters 1.c Historiographical approaches to Paris as author and scribe; and 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus; Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 390-2.
[123] These are 'the second scribe of part two of the *Chronica Majora*, who also wrote out some charters for Paris in his *Liber Additamentorum*, and the scribe who finished his last historical works for him'; and those who 'may have worked with him only in a single MS, like the scribe of the Bible in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford' (Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 384-5).
[124] Vaughan, 'The Handwriting', 390-2.

necessary) written by every hand has been converted into a percentage. The order of the manuscripts Vaughan's in Figure 4.57 and MParisPal's in Figure 4.58.

There are a number of conclusions that can be drawn from the evidence presented in this chapter. Firstly, the extent of Paris's involvement in the copying of the manuscripts in the corpus is large, as he is responsible for the copying of most of them – 50% or over - excluding CCCC MS 26 and CCCO MS 2 (Figures 4.57 and 4.58). The extent of the collaboration of other hands, as shown below is not uniform, but there are some trends that can be identified in relation to Scribes A, B and C:

Scribes B and C contribute to the manuscripts in the corpus in manuscripts that have been dated from early in Paris's career to c.1255 (MParisPal Groups I and II).[125] Scribe C contributed to the copying of the last sections of TCD MS 177 and ChL MS 6712 (Figures 4.57 and 4.58), whilst Scribe B writes the majority of CCCC MS 26 and the first section of CCCC MS 16 II, that is, the first and second parts of the *Chronica Majora*. Considering these manuscripts were originally one single volume (*AB*), this scribe was involved in producing the earliest part of the text of the *Chronica*. Therefore, Scribe C collaborated in the copying of the last sections of the earliest manuscript in the corpus (TCD MS 177) and ChL MS 6712 (from before c.1240 up to c.1250).[126] Scribe B only collaborates in the *AB* manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora*, c.1240-c.1250. Scribe A (Figures 4.44 and 4.46) collaborates in Paris's late manuscripts (MParisPal Group III, defined in 3.c) and also in BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, which is in the preceding group (Group II). He also participates by correcting the last section of CCCC MS 16 II. The chronology given above for these manuscripts – BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, BL Royal MS 14 C VII and BL Cotton MS Nero D I – points to a collaboration from c.1250 until Paris's death in 1259, with an earlier stint as corrector (in CCCC MS 16 II) in c.1240-c.1250.[127]

Overall, it is plausible that Scribe C was the earliest to collaborate – possibly from before c.1240 in TCD MS 177 –; that Scribe B started to collaborate in the manuscripts of the *Chronica Majora* shortly after (up to c.1250). Most probably once the first part of the *Chronica Majora* was written, Scribe C collaborated again by copying its abridgement in ChL MS 6712 (*Flores Historiarum*).[128] Lastly, Scribe A – who had collaborated in correcting a section of CCCC MS 16 II – starts

[125] See chapter 3.c Matthew Paris's manuscripts: a chronology.
[126] *Ibid;* Figure 3.40.
[127] *Ibid.*
[128] The relationship between the *Chronica Majora* and the *Flores Historiarum* is explored in chapter 1.b Life, works and manuscripts of Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259).

collaborating as a scribe from c.1250, and less intensely from c.1255 until 1259. It is clear from this that with the only exception of TCD MS 177, Paris's recurrent collaborators appear only in Paris's historical manuscripts, which might be an indicator of the copying needs derived from the scale of these works.

In section 4.b there are two unclear identifications. Although these 'possible' scribal hands have not been confirmed, their place in the phenomenon of scribal collaboration in Paris's manuscript can be described, even if just tentatively. The first of these unclear identifications – of Hand 10 in BL Cotton MS Nero D I and Hand 4 in CCCC MS 26 – participated in the last section of the first part of the *Chronica Majora* and also in the last section of BL Cotton MS Nero D I, which indicates an occasional collaboration throughout a long period of time (c.1240-c.1259). The second possible scribal hand – Hand 1 of CCCC MS 16 II and Hand 1 in CCCO MS 2 – copies short stints throughout the second volume of the *Chronica Majora*, and possibly was responsible for the copying of the Oxford Bible. Chronologically, this scribe may have collaborated right after the previous possibly identified hand, and copied the Oxford Bible between c.1250-c.1255. These hands would have coincided in time with Scribes B and A in CCCC MS 26 and BL Cotton MS Nero D I, respectively.

The remaining manuscripts (CUL Dd 11 78 and CCCO MS 2) fall into MParisPal Groups I and II, respectively[129]. CUL Dd 11 78, because it is a personal compilation, and because of its large number of collaborating hands and its uneven appearance, can be linked with BdL MS Auct. F.3.14, a manuscript by William of Malmesbury described by Thomson.[130] If, as with the Malmesbury manuscript, CUL Dd 11 78 was copied by a number of monks privately, then it is consistent with these hands not appearing in other manuscripts in the corpus. Lastly, the manuscript of the Oxford Bible (CCCO MS 2) was an instance of Matthew Paris collaborating in the copying and annotating of a manuscript that was not conceived by him.

[129] See chapter 3.c Matthew Paris's manuscripts: a chronology.
[130] Thomson, 'The 'scriptorium'', 127-8; see chapter 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus.

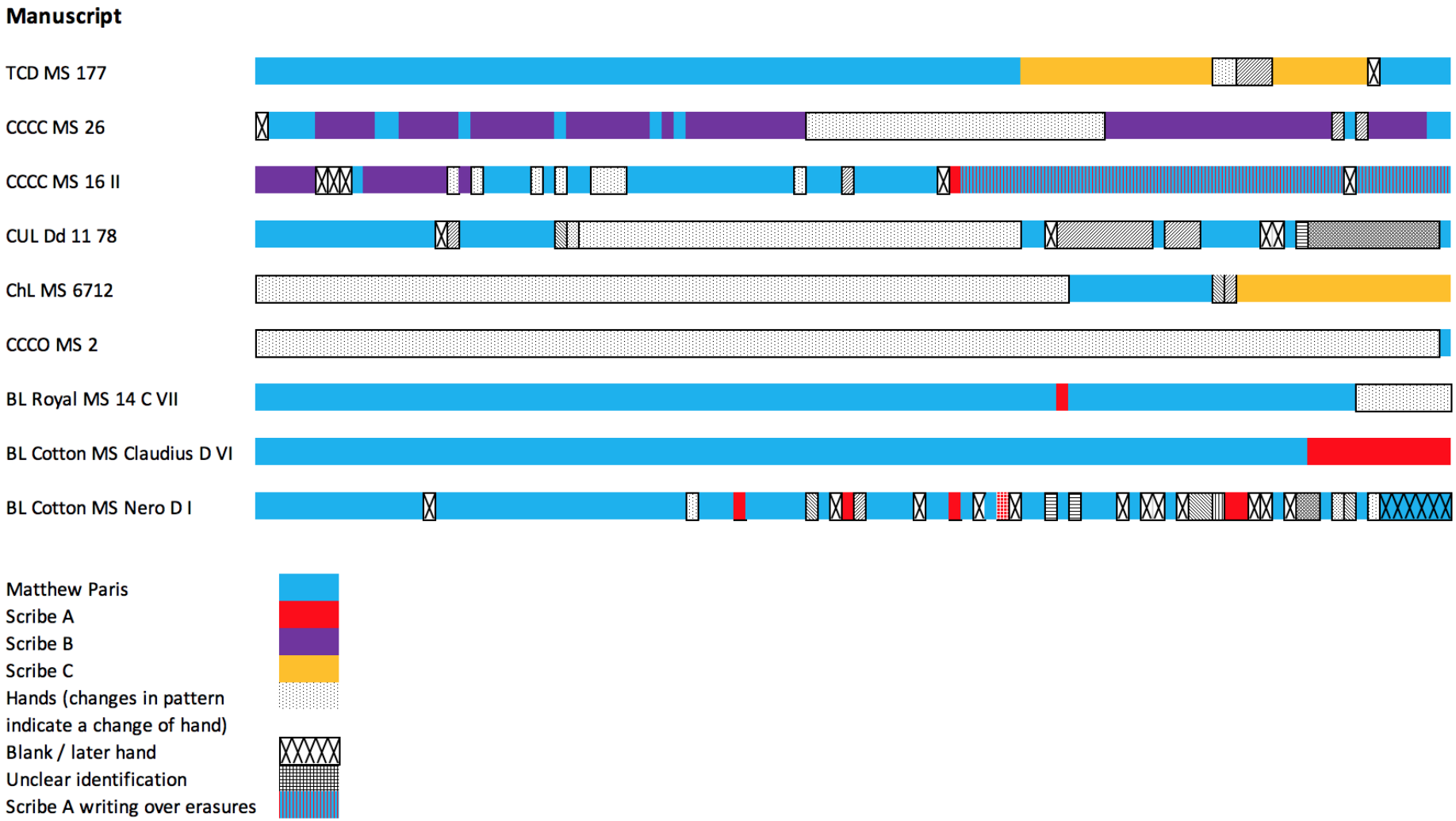

Figure 4.57. Distribution of scribes and hands, including Matthew Paris, across the manuscripts in the corpus (Vaughan's chronology).

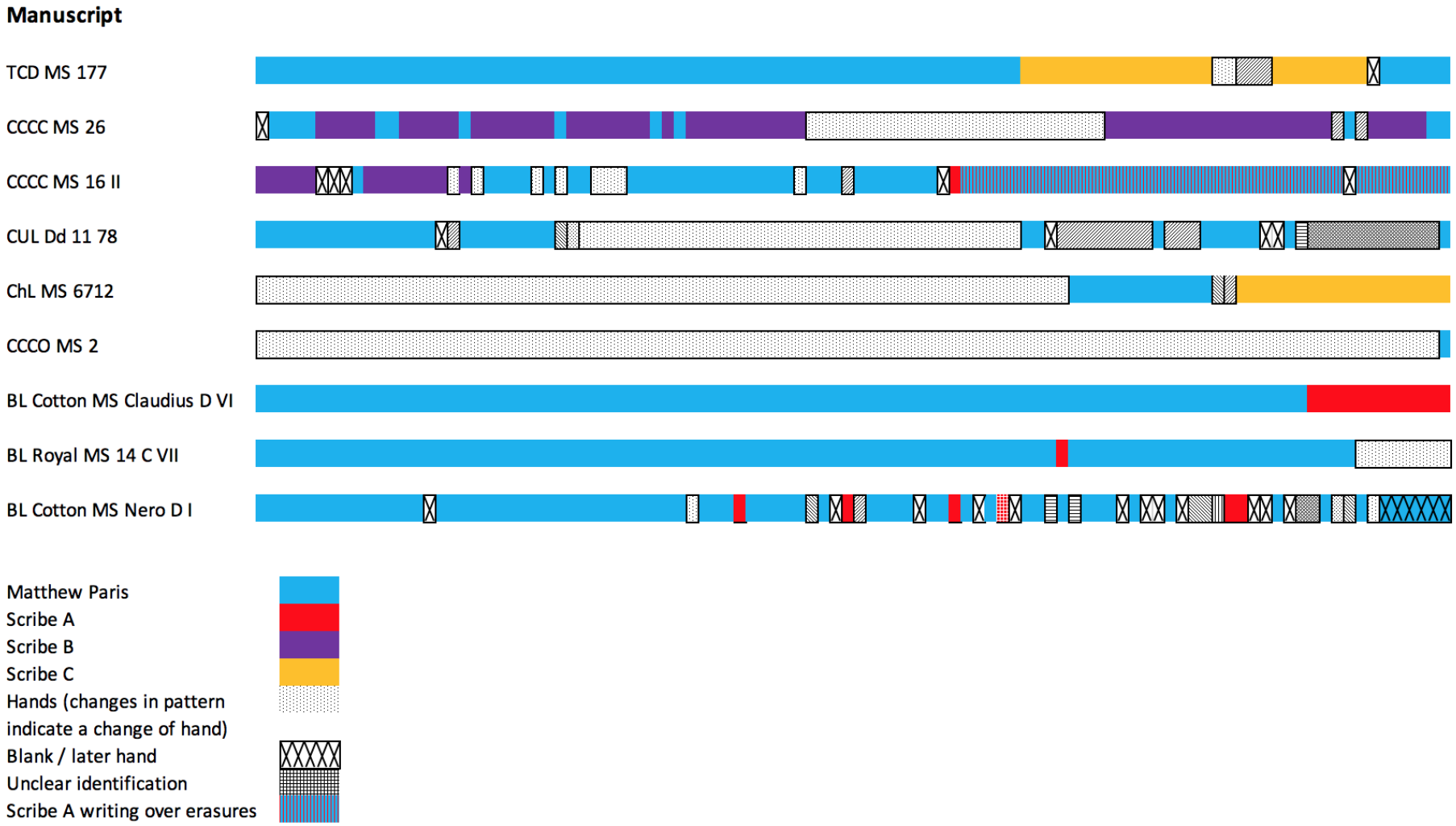

Figure 4.58. Distribution of scribes and hands, including Matthew Paris, across the manuscripts in the corpus (MParisPal chronology).

Conclusions

The palaeographical analysis of ten of the manuscripts of Matthew Paris must, inevitably, be linked to the work of Richard Vaughan. His ground-breaking article and monograph are at the core of any attempt at researching Paris, his manuscripts or his handwriting. Vaughan's arguments are persuasive, and it has been sometimes difficult to distinguish between his ideas and my own observations and findings. However, as it has been shown above, there are a number of aspects in which Vaughan's pioneering work has been enlarged and updated. Perhaps the most significant additions to his works are in the description of Paris's hand and his estimation of collaborating scribal hands.[1] The study of the ten manuscripts in the corpus containing Matthew Paris's hand has yielded a number of results in relation to Paris's handwriting, its changes through time, the handwriting of his scribal collaborators and the extent of scribal collaboration within the manuscripts in the corpus. The use of MParisPal to annotate manuscript digitisations and the assessment of its overall practicality and usefulness have also been relevant outcomes of this dissertation.

The description and quantitative analysis of Paris's hand have yielded several results. Firstly, the palaeographical contextualisation of the script, comparing the essential characters in the script with systems of classification of the Gothic scripts, has been carried out in 3.a. The reassessment of Paris's hand, however, has provided for the first time a full description of letterforms, abbreviations and punctuation. The digital annotations on MParisPal are at the core of the second main achievement of Chapter 3: the quantitative survey and chronology of Paris's script.[2] The exploration of the average occurrence and average angles in several features and characters started to form a picture that, together with the assessment of datable elements in the evolution of the Gothic scripts, allowed for the division of the manuscripts in the corpus in three groups. These groups correspond with three moments in Paris's career (c.1240-c-1250; c.1250-c.1255; and c.1255-1259).[3] The analysis of the palaeographical data shows a general increase in cursive elements in Paris's script through time – particularly the large-split of ascenders, long tironian *con* and 'broken-back' **s** - a trend that, although not entirely clear-cut and with some exceptions, applies to the manuscripts in the corpus. This process is mirrored by the appearance of Anglicana

[1] See chapters 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus; 3.a The hand of Matthew Paris; and 4.a Description of scribal hands.
[2] See chapter 3.b The evolution of Matthew Paris's hand: a quantitative survey.
[3] See chapter 3.c Matthew Paris's manuscripts: a chronology. 1259 is the agreed year of Paris's death, as discussed in 1.b Life, works and manuscripts of Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259).

and the use of cursive book-scripts, bringing Paris closer to the general trends of the period and further from assessing his script as an exception.

The second major contribution of this thesis is the analysis and description of the hands of the collaborating hands in the manuscripts.[4] The definition of the stints of each of the thirty-four hands present in the corpus and the palaeographic definition of each hand occupy most of Chapter 4 and show how different, and sometimes how similar, these hands are, and how unequal the extent of their collaboration is.[5] The numerous MParisPal annotations for each of these hand provide a complete graphic archive of rich palaeographic and codicological information, and the definition of the stints complement the existing catalogue descriptions of each of the manuscripts. The body of descriptions serves as the basis for two other contributions: the definition of three scribes participating in more than one manuscript (and two other possible scribes), and the chart of scribal collaboration in the manuscripts.[6] The three collaborating scribal hands assist in the writing of Paris's historical works, except for Scribe C, who also collaborates in the *Vie de Seint Auban*.[7] This indicates both that the historical works were the largest and more complex to create, and that the other two works were a personal compilation (CUL Dd 11 78) and a manuscript that was chiefly written by somebody else (CCCO MS 2). It is also apparent that Scribe C, who collaborated in the writing of the manuscript of the *Vie de Seint Auban* and in the *Flores Historiarum*, was mostly concerned with finishing both works. The second scribe to collaborate in more than one manuscript was Scribe B – who collaborated in the first two parts of the *Chronica Majora*, which were a single manuscript at the time, *AB* -, writing in CCCC MS 26 and the early section of CCCC MS 16 II. The last steady collaborator of Paris was Scribe A, whose hand appears in three later Paris manuscripts (BL Royal MS 14 C VII, BL Cotton MS Nero D I and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI). It is indeed possible that these 'stable' collaborators did not work together at the same time, and collaborated with Paris at different moments in his career. In the case of CUL Dd 11 78, the number of hands that appear (six besides Paris), the nature of the text and the characteristics of the manuscript not only suggest that it is a personal compilation, but also that it is quite similar to the multiple scribes and the unequally proficient hands Thomson described for BdL MS Auct. F.3.14.[8] This manuscript by William of Malmesbury – as discussed above in Chapter 2 – contained fourteen irregularly-trained hands. Thomson's hypothesis – that this was a manuscript created by circulating

[4] See chapter 4.a Description of scribal hands.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] See chapters 4.b The scribes: A, B and C; and 4.c The extent of scribal collaboration in the manuscript corpus.
[7] See chapter 4.b The scribes: A, B and C.
[8] Thomson, 'The 'scriptorium", 127-8; chapter 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus.

exemplars amongst Malmesbury's fellow monks – sounds quite plausible for Paris's collection of poetry by Henry d'Avranches.

Perhaps one of the most relevant outcomes of this project has been the successful integration of different methodologies. Although Digital Humanities projects are now commonplace, the use of a digital platform like Archetype to analyse the manuscripts of Matthew Paris from a palaeographical perspective is new, and has necessitated the adaptation of the initial method to include quantitative techniques.[9] The simultaneous use of these three approaches has been both practical to implement – in order to make sense of large amounts of data – and complex to manage. Using MPariPal in this project has been a continuous process of testing, from the decision to use this framework to the methodological complexities it entailed, its usefulness and practicality, to the expected and finally obtained results. The scepticism with which the use of digital annotation was approached helped keep a critical eye throughout, and assess the positives and negatives of the use of this framework. The main reason why this digital approach was taken was to be able to manage a large quantity of palaeographic data, and to be able to compare annotations from different sources. In order to achieve this, MParisPal needed the development of a terminology, which had to be created before the first annotations were made, as changing the terms of description at a later date would cause a great delay and a possible loss of information. This was the first drawback, in my opinion, to the use of MParisPal, as it gives little room for the implementation of changes to the initial terminology. The annotating process proved time-consuming beyond initial estimations, which delayed the timeline of the project; and the annotation process is always subjected to changing perceptions of script: is a round bowl in caroline **a** always perceived in the same way? As annotations were done through a long period of time, were the same unconscious criteria applied to the description of the hand at the beginning and at the end? Avoiding carelessness or changes in perception proved to add extra time to the annotation process, as annotations went through revisions to ensure homogeneity. One of the main advantages of Archetype – that it depends on the input of the palaeographer rather than on automation – adds a layer of subjectivity that is similar, although by no means equal, to the observation of aspect without any digital means. The palaeographic eye prevails.

The second main advantage of Archetype - its way of displaying and comparing results – has been hugely useful. Being able to use the lightbox for creating overlays of allographs whilst also being able to produce lists of allographs from a particular hand are the main ways in which

[9] See chapter 2. Scribal collaboration, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus.

MParisPal's powers have been put to use in this project.[10] The possibility of including hyperlinks that lead to lightbox collections has been particularly important when describing collaborating hands in the corpus. The advantages of using MParisPal for this project outnumber the hindrances. The possibility of searching, comparing and displaying annotations from different sources is what has made this project viable on this scale. The time-consuming nature of annotating, based on a terminology that needed to be developed before having been able to assert its validity, is its main drawback but it is not an unsurmountable one. Archetype's lack of automation is generally a positive aspect, although it is important, as mentioned above, to realise the inherent subjectivity of annotation and description, regardless of their being done digitally or not.

Aspects of quantitative methods were implemented early in this project in response to specific needs derived from the abundance of digital annotations. Managing over sixteen thousand individual annotations of seventeen different allographs from thirty-five individual scribal hands (including Matthew Paris's) required specific techniques that would help reducing the amount of information being analysed. The use of statistics to produce average occurrences of allographs, characters and features made an important difference not only in the way data is presented, but in the way conclusions are drawn from them. The obvious disadvantage of such an approach is that it provides statistic generalisations, smoothing over variability within the manuscripts. However, the main objective of the use of quantitative methods is to show trends, whether in the proportion of characters, of certain features, or the overall percentage of the manuscripts written by each hand. In this respect, the use of statistics has been essential, and has been the basis of the charts that conclude both Chapters 3 and 4.

The scope of this project has been inevitably affected by time and budget constraints. The eighteen manuscripts identified by Vaughan as to contain Paris's hand were initially selected to be analysed in MParisPal. However, both the unavailability of digitisations for some of the manuscripts, together with the cost of purchasing digital images and the time limitations of a research project of this kind made the reduction of the original corpus inevitable. The choice of the present corpus was made in relation to significance – prioritising those manuscripts containing Paris's best-known works – and availability, both in terms of library visits and digital images. The continuation of this project would include the eight remaining manuscripts in Vaughan's list, which would allow for the expansion of data in relation to Paris's hand and the

[10] Figures 2.5, 4.45, 4.48, 4.51, 4.53 and 4.55.

hands of his scribal collaborators. Also, the manuscripts produced at St Albans during Paris's lifetime – but not containing his hand – could reveal the participation of hands and/or scribes identified here in the overall process of book production at the abbey. The comparison between the results outlined above and these manuscripts could also be carried out as part of a new and larger project.

The analysis of the manuscripts in the corpus has also left avenues worth pursuing. The description of Paris's hand is accompanied by the digital annotation of his annotating, rubricating and legend hand, yet these annotations have not been incorporated to the description or to the chronological considerations of Chapter 3. The analysis of these annotations is also part of what could constitute a continuation of this project, together with the description of all characters and abbreviations of the hands of the scribal collaborators. The selection of seventeen allographs for the description of all hands was also a conscious choice made to ensure only the essential allographs for the comparison of scribal hands were annotated, ensuring the manageability of the data.[11] Overall, there are a number of aspects that have necessarily been left out. The inclusion of the remaining eight manuscripts containing Paris's hand in the corpus, the comparison of the results presented here with the manuscripts created at St Albans in Paris's lifetime, the inclusion of more allographs in the description of hands and the analysis of the annotated rubrics, annotations and legends in Paris's hand are all related to a wider and longer project that could continue the foundations laid by this dissertation.

The reassessment of the hand of Matthew Paris does not only provide a description of its main characteristics, but also places the hand in its palaeographic context. The thirteenth century is a rich and complex period from a palaeographical perspective, from the full transition from Caroline minuscule into Gothic that started in the previous century to the development of distinctive cursive scripts that are also used as bookhands.[12] This, and the geographical particularities of the Gothic scripts makes this period particularly fascinating. The place the hand of Matthew Paris occupies in this picture is not just as an exceptional rarity, but as an example of use, adaptation and evolution of script. The hand of Matthew Paris itself poses a number of questions that transcend the boundaries of this dissertation: how did Paris learn to write? Was he engaged in teaching others to write? Is there any other explanation for the peculiar aspect of his hand other than his education? Similarly, the study of scribal collaboration in Paris's manuscripts prompts questions on the organisation of book-production at St Albans and at Benedictine

[11] See chapter 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus.
[12] See chapter 3.a The hand of Matthew Paris.

houses in general. The particular case-study presented here also informs wider discussions on monastic book production and scribal collaboration, and challenges perceptions of medieval authors single-handedly producing their own manuscripts. The way Paris's hand fits (or does not fit) into the general characteristics of script in the first half of the thirteenth century; the features that it shows and where they come from and how they evolve; the way his hand provides insight into cursivisation, and the possibility of dissecting a case of scribal collaboration in a monastic setting are all features of interest inside and outside the scholarship of Matthew Paris.

The methodological approach used in this thesis, the combination between the palaeographical, the digital and the quantitative is hardly new, yet the use of these methods for a study in personal handwriting and scribal collaboration is. Studies on personal handwriting and scribal collaboration in Latin hands are not numerous, as the methodological review in Chapter 2 shows, and fewer still make use of digital tools. The closest examples – DigiPal, The Models of Authority and the Exon Domesday projects – work with different types of source material, but also with a large number of hands.[13] The common element between the present project and those is Archetype, and that speaks of its versatility and relevance in the wider field. The use of a platform that has been employed in a number of projects that are different in nature is testament not only to its efficacy but also to the possibilities of engaging in future projects that might reuse or expand the materials held in MParisPal.

The manuscripts of Matthew Paris have largely been seen as the legacy of an extraordinary and uncommon man. The vastness of his output, his ambition as a chronicler and his considerable talents have been the focus of every biographical note, yet there is more than that to him. Like Weiler's articles suggest, his methods were not uncommon, and his sources are plenty yet within the expected from a St Albans monk.[14] Paris's hand, however different it might look, is unmistakeably Gothic; and there was a large number of scribes who collaborated with him throughout his active years at the abbey. It would be perhaps wise to acknowledge Paris as a product of his time, as an accomplished illuminator and as an ambitious chronicler; but not as an exceptional rarity or as a canonised outsider. This would allow us to appreciate his manuscripts in

[13] The Digital Resource and Database of Palaeography, Manuscript Studies and Diplomatic, 2010-14 (DigiPal, www.digipal.eu/) was funded by the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7) under grant agreement n° 263751; The Models of Authority Project, 2015-17 (https://www.modelsofauthority.ac.uk) was funded by by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) under Grant Reference n° AH/L008041/1. The Exon Domesday Project: The Conqueror's Commissioners, 2015-17 (https://www.exondomesday.ac.uk) was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) under Grant Reference no. AH/L013975/1; 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus.
[14] See chapter 1.b Life, Works and manuscripts of Matthew Paris (c.1250-1259).

new ways, as they would be no longer enshrined exceptions, but a glimpse into history and hagiography writing, collaboration in book production, and the evolution of script in the first half of the thirteenth century.

Appendix

The following chart has been produced with the aim of providing a guide to all scribal hands in the corpus in shelfmark order. It is a tool to contextualise the individual descriptions of collaborating scribal hands and of each of Matthew Paris's contributions to the manuscripts, also providing some additional information. The fields provided for each scribal hand are:

- Shelfmark: The manuscripts below are listed in shelfmark order.
- MParisPal name: This is the name by which each hand is identified on MParisPal. They provide consecutive numbers of the hands of each manuscript, in order of appearance.
- Stint(s): The specific leaves in which each hand writes.
- Approximate number of leaves written: In order to add some extra considerations to the analysis of the collaborating hands the leaves written by every hand were counted. In cases where full leaves cannot be counted, an approximate value is given (1/2, 1/3, 1/4). The final number is then rounded up.
- Average angle of writing in relation to the baseline (range): As detailed in the methodology, the angle of writing in relation to the baseline is calculated on ten random samples in each hand. The final average is then rounded up.[15]
- Average angle of the ascender of **d** in relation to the baseline (range): As detailed in the methodology, the angle of the ascender in relation to the baseline is calculated on ten random samples in each hand. The final average is then rounded up.[16]
- Textual dating (Vaughan): This column gives the dates advanced by Vaughan through textual dating in *Matthew Paris*.[17]

[15] See chapter 2. Scribal identification, Archetype and the MParisPal corpus.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*.

Shelfmark	MParisPal name	Stint(s)	Approximate number of leaves written	Average angle of writing in relation to the baseline (range)	Average angle of the ascender of **d** in relation to the baseline (range)	Textual dating (Vaughan)
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)	5r-91r	86	44º (39-53º)	41º (23-50º)	After 1250 (pos. 1255) (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 114)
BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI	Hand 2	91v-98v	7	46º (40-58º)	36º (26-48º)	After 1250 (pos. 1255) (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 114)
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)	2r-82r; 86v-105v; 106va30-37; 107r-119ra13; 119v-123r; 124rb39-126vb16; 127rb10-132r; 133ra1–b17; 134r-134va1-35; 145r-148r; 155vb22-156v; 161vb27-162va25; 163rc2-9; 163v-167v; 169v-171v; 181v-182r (upper margin); 183v-187v; 197r; 197va26-198r; 199r1-3; 199r16-41; 200r/v	148	42º (38-47º)	35º (30-45º)	c. 1247-1259 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65-6)
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	Hand 2	63rb17-49; 162va 26-163rc 2	1	47º (37-59º)	57º (50-63º)	c. 1247-1259 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65-6)
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	Hand 3	69va; 83r-84v; 106r-106va29; 120va8-25 (possibly); 137v-140vb24	6	46º (35-50º)	41º (22-55º)	c. 1247-1259 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65-6)
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	Hand 4	79vb23-45; 135r-137ra26	3	42º (39-47º)	37º (25-49º)	c. 1247-1259 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65-6)
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	Hand 5	85r-86r	2	41º (33-47º)	32º (17-47º)	c. 1247-1259 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65-6)
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	Hand 6	123v-124rb38; 126vb17–127rb9	2	41º (33-45º)	35º (23-48º)	c. 1247-1259 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65-6)
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	Hand 7	137ra27-b30	1	44º (35-52º)	37º (23-44º)	c. 1247-1259 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65-6)
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	Hand 8	149r-155vb21	7	37º (28-49º)	33º (20-45º)	c. 1247-1259 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65-6)
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	Hand 9	157r/v	1	42º (35-47º)	48º (42-56º)	c. 1247-1259 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65-6)
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	Hand 10	158r-161vb26	4	41º (33-47º)	26º (15-40º)	c. 1247-1259 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65-6)
BL Cotton MS Nero D I	Hand 11	168r-169r	2	40º (33-45º)	30º (22-45º)	c. 1247-1259 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65-6)

BL Cotton MS Vespasian B XIII f. 133	Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)	133v	1	46º (42-50º)	33º (12-48º)	c. 1247-1259 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65-6)
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)	2r - 154v, c. 2, l. 22; 157r - 210r, c. 1	195	37º (34-43º)	41º (21-56º)	c. 1250-1255 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65)
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	Hand 2	154vb23 – 156v	3	42º (34-52º)	32º (16-48º)	c. 1250-1255 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65)
BL Royal MS 14 C VII	Hand 3	210rb2 – 218v	9	39º (35-46º)	41º (26-53º)	c. 1250-1255 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 65)
CCCC MS 16 II	Hand 1	1r – 14v; 17r-36rb12; 37rb	33	48º (43-52º)	52º (26-64º)	c. 1240-1251 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 51)
CCCC MS 16 II	Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)	15r- 16v; 37vb41 – 50r; 53va1-32, over erasure; 54v – 58v; 65vb19 – 106vb25; 107r – 113v; 114vb15 – 143v; 144ra14-48; 144ra51 – b46; 144rb49 – 144va7; 144va17 - 158rb28; 158rb33 – 222v; 235r-284v	220	43º (37-46º)	39º (22-53º)	c. 1240-1251 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 51)
CCCC MS 16 II	Hand 3	36rb12-37vb40; 50v-53r; 53va33 – 54r; 59r - 65vb19; 106vb26-51	12	46º (37-51º)	51º (37-63º)	c. 1240-1251 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 51)
CCCC MS 16 II	Hand 4	114r- 114vb14	1	48º (40-56º)	51º (42-63º)	c. 1240-1251 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 51)
CCCC MS 16 II	Hand 5	over erasures: 144ra9-14; 144ra48-51; 144rb46-49; 144va8-16; 158rb28-32; 165va4, 5, 7; 178va43-48; 198rb25-28 and 236ra1-11	1	43º (32-56º)	37º (29-46º)	c. 1240-1251 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 51)
CCCC MS 26	Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)	iR – viV; 8r-10v; 19r-19v; 32ra1-32; 43vb24-41; 44ra9-10 & a39 – b31; 127r – 128v; viiR-ixR	15	40º (33-55º)	40º (30-47º)	c. 1240-1251 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 51)
CCCC MS 26	Hand 2	1r-7v; 11r-18v; 20r-31v; 32ra32 – 43vb23; 43vb42 – 44ra8 & a11-39; 44rb32-59rb19; 96vb30 – 125v; 131r-141v	90	44º (37-50º)	54º (37-63º)	c. 1240-1251 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 51)
CCCC MS 26	Hand 3	59rb20 - 96vb30	37	44º (37-51º)	45º (33-61º)	c. 1240-1251 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 51)
CCCC MS 26	Hand 4	126r/v; 129r-130v	3	48º (44-52º)	48º (41-61º)	c. 1240-1251 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 51)
CCCO MS 2	Hand 1	3r – 369ra33	366	50º (40-53º)	42º (39-47º)	c. 1250-1255 (Vaughan, 'The handwriting')

CCCO MS 2	Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)	369ra34 – 369v (1r-2v correspond to the map of Palestine, bound as CCCO MS 2*)	1	44º (41-53º)	37º (26-45º)	c. 1250-1255 (Vaughan, 'The handwriting')
CUL Dd 11 78	Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)	aR-34r, 38r-57v, 148v21 – 153v, 175r-176v, 184v8 – 195v, 199r, 238r17 - 238v	73	45º (40-58º)	45º (31-58º)	Before 1250 (Vaughan, 'The handwriting')
CUL Dd 11 78	Hand 2	35v- 37v, 156r-174v, 177r-184v7	27	64º (54-77º)	35º (23-51º)	Before 1250 (Vaughan, 'The handwriting')
CUL Dd 11 78	Hand 3	58r-60v	3	42º (30-47º)	33º (23-48º)	Before 1250 (Vaughan, 'The handwriting')
CUL Dd 11 78	Hand 4	61r	1	41º (38-46º)	43º (35-49º)	Before 1250 (Vaughan, 'The handwriting')
CUL Dd 11 78	Hand 5	61v-148v20	86	43º (31-53º)	42º (30-53º)	Before 1250 (Vaughan, 'The handwriting')
CUL Dd 11 78	Hand 6	199v	1	39º (23-47º)	57º (42-64º)	Before 1250 (Vaughan, 'The handwriting')
CUL Dd 11 78	Hand 7	200r-238r16	38	50º (41-57º)	28º (20-37º)	Before 1250 (Vaughan, 'The handwriting')
ChL MS 6712	Hand 1	7r-170va	164	48º (40-62º)	47º (30-53º)	c. 1240-1245 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 102)
ChL MS 6712	Hand 2 (Matthew Paris)	170vb – 200va	29	42º (34-51º)	41º (30-54º)	c. 1240-1245 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 102)
ChL MS 6712	Hand 3	200vb – 201rb23	1	43º (40-48º)	41º (30-60º)	c. 1249-1265? (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 92)
ChL MS 6712	Hand 4	201rb24 -38	1	48º (37-58º)	38º (31-45º)	c. 1249-1265? (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 92)
ChL MS 6712	Hand 5	201v – 247r	44	45º (35-59º)	41º (29-55º)	c. 1249-1265? (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 92)
TCD MS 177	Hand 1 (Matthew Paris)	2r-50r; 73r-77r	53	44º (33-56º)	47º (32-59º)	Before 1240 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 177)
TCD MS 177	Hand 2	50v-62v; 66v-72r	17	49º (40-58º)	41º (29-55º)	Before 1240 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 177)
TCD MS 177	Hand 3	63r-64va3	2	50º (42-64º)	35º (30-48º)	Before 1240 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 177)
TCD MS 177	Hand 4	64va3 - 66r	3	48º (40-52º)	46º (37-61º)	Before 1240 (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 177)

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